

Few among your citizens have held back. You had needs -- great needs. They were met in accordance with the democratic principle that those needs should be filled in proportion to the ability of each individual to help.

Every great disaster brings something good out of it and this disaster in 1936 has brought out good, great good, in Gainesville. I am glad that my friend, your Congressman, used that word "soul." This work needs every soul. I spoke of great disasters doing some good. A great many years ago I heard of a disaster in Georgia that brought great good in many other parts of the Nation.

Way back about a hundred years ago the City of Macon, built like the older cities in the State, with narrow streets, was visited by a great fire and practically two-thirds of the city was wiped out, the fire spreading from block to block. On the day of the fire, there were two young men from Savannah in Macon. The two young men had decided to join the Mormons on their great trip from the banks of the Mississippi out to the Far West. They helped in clearing away the wreck from the fire, intending to move on the next day. But, there was so much to do that they stayed for a month or two, rebuilding Macon. And when the city fathers came to rebuild the City of Macon, they decided that in order to avoid a recurrence of the fire they would lay out the city with very wide streets, streets so wide that a conflagration could not jump from one block to another. That is one reason why so many of the streets of Macon, Georgia, today are of such a magnificent width.

The two young men left and rode on to the Mississippi, joined Brigham Young and the rest of the Latter Day Saints and

finally came across into that great basin of Great Salt Lake. The Mormon leaders decided that that was the place they wanted for their homes and they undertook to lay out a city, a city according to the normal lines of the period, with narrow streets, with blocks and houses huddled in close to each other. The building materials being mostly of wood, there was, of course, a hazard of fire. These two boys, who had come from Savannah, went to Brigham Young and said, "You must not do that; you must lay out the streets two hundred feet wide or else your city will burn up. As a result of what they told him of what they had learned in Macon, the streets of Salt Lake City today are the widest streets of any in the United States. They had learned a lesson from the disaster in Georgia.

I wish that all who hear my voice could see this great Civic Center, with its beautiful courthouse that faces me as I speak. (I tell you that this) It has a national significance and I want to give you a few illustrations of where and how the application of this principle established here applies to national problems would help greatly to (amply) solve our national needs.

Today, national progress and national prosperity are being held back chiefly because of selfishness on the part of a few. If Gainesville had been faced with that type of minority selfishness your city would not stand rebuilt as it is today.

The type of selfishness (to which I refer) that I am referring to is definitely not to be applied to the overwhelming majority of the American public.

Most people, if they know both sides of a question and are (appealed to) asked to support the public good, will (gladly) step

forward and lay aside selfishness. But we must admit that there are some people who honestly believe in a wholly different theory of government than the one our Constitution provides.

You know their reasoning. They say that in the competition of life for the good things of life "some people are successful because they have better brains or are more efficient; the wise, the swift and the strong are able to outstrip their fellowmen." And they say that that is nature itself and you cannot do anything about it and it is just too bad if some, the minority of people, get left behind. (")

It is that attitude which leads such people to give little thought, to give anything but lip service, to the one-third of our population which I have described as being ill-fed, ill-clad and ill-housed. (They) The majority of them say, "I am not my brother's keeper" -- and they "pass by on the other side." Most of them are honest people. Most of them consider themselves excellent citizens.

But, my friends, this Nation will never permanently get on the road to recovery if we leave the methods and (the) processes of recovery to those people who owned -- I say "owned" -- the Government of the United States from 1921 to 1933. (Applause)

They are the kind of people who, in 1936, the last national campaign, were saying, "Oh, yes, we want nobody to starve" but at the same time (insist) were insisting that the balancing of the budget (is) was more important than making appropriations for relief. And when I told them that I, too, wanted to balance the budget but that I put human lives ahead of dollars and handed them the book of the government estimates and asked them just where they would cut the appro-

priations, inevitably they folded up and came back (at) and told me (and said), "Mr. President, that is not my business, that is yours."

Yes, they have the same type of mind as those representatives of the people who vote against legislation to help social and economic conditions, proclaiming loudly that they are for the objectives but they do not like the methods and then fail utterly to offer a better method of their own.

I speak to you of conditions in this, my other State. The buying power of the people of Georgia and of the people of many other states is still so low today that the people of these states cannot purchase the products of industry. Therefore, industry itself is cut off from an outlet that it otherwise would have. People cannot buy at stores unless they have cash or good credit. Stores cannot fill their shelves unless they have customers.

Mills and factories cannot sell to stores who have no customers.

I speak not only of the workers in the bottom third of our population -- millions of them who cannot afford to buy a suit of clothes. I speak also of millions of other workers who are so under-employed (and) or so underpaid that the burden of their poverty affects the little business man and the big business man and the millionaire himself.

Georgia and the lower South may just as well face facts -- and your Governor understands those facts -- simple facts that he has presented and that I present to you as President of the United States. (simple facts presented in the lower South by the President of the

United States.) The purchasing power of the millions of Americans in this whole area is far too low. Most men and women who work for wages in this whole area get wages which are far too low. On the present scale of wages and therefore on the present scale of buying power, the South cannot and will not succeed in establishing successful new industries, as we ought to. Efficiency in operating industries goes hand in hand with good pay and the industries of the South cannot compete with industries in other parts of the (country) Nation, (the North, the Middle West and the Far West) unless the buying power of the South makes possible the highest kind of efficiency.

And, my friends, let us well remember that buying power means many other (kinds of) better things -- better schools, better health and (better) hospitals, better highways. These things will not come to us in the South if we oppose progress -- if we believe in our hearts that the feudal system is still the best system.

And, when you come down to it, there is little difference between the feudal system and the Fascist system. If you believe in the one, you lean (to) toward the other and I am opposed to Fascism as I am opposed to Communism. (Applause)

Yes, with the overwhelming majority of the people of (this State) the State of Georgia, I oppose feudalism. So do many among those who by virtue of their circumstances in life belong not only to the lowest income group or the middle income group but belong also to the most prosperous 5% of the population. Men and women in the professions, the overwhelming majority of the small storekeepers, a growing number of the bankers and business men -- they are coming more and more to see that the continuation of the American system

calls for the elimination of special privilege, the dissemination of the whole (of the) truth, and participation in prosperity by the people at the bottom of the ladder, as well as those in the middle and those at the top.

One thing is certain -- we are not going back to the old days. (Applause) We are going forward to better days. We are calling for cooperation all along the line and (the) that cooperation is increasing because more and more people are coming to understand that abuses of the past which have been successfully eradicated are not going to be (restored) brought back.

To those in and out of public office, who still believe in the feudal system and have leanings to the Fascist system -- and believe in it honestly -- the people of the United States and in every section of the United States are going to say "We are sorry, but we want people to represent us whose minds are cast in the 1938 mold and not in the 1898 mold." (Applause)

To those who come forward, -- and they are coming in increasing numbers day by day, -- we say, "We, the Government of the United States, all of us in that Government, want to cooperate for the good of the whole people and the good of the whole Nation. To you we extend the hand of welcome."

Gainesville suffered a great disaster. So did the Nation in those eight years of false prosperity followed by four years of collapse. Gainesville showed a united front for the good of its whole population, rich and poor alike. It rose to rebuild on sounder lines.

Today the United States is rising and (is) rebuilding on sounder lines. We propose to go forward and not back.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
From the Rear Platform of his Special Train
Griffin, Georgia, March 23, 1938, 3.50 P.M.

I am glad to be coming home again. (Applause) And I am glad to see that spring is almost with us.

I will have to tell you a story about Griffin. You did not know it, but we have a place at Warm Springs that used to be called Griffin. It was a little cottage that belonged to the old hotel. The cottage was down under the hill and, in the old days of Georgia, long before we had national prohibition, Georgia was dry -- at least in theory. (Laughter)

And the good people/^{who}came to the old Warm Springs Hotel in those days, a generation ago, they could not get anything to drink at the hotel and the men of the family, the men folks, -- not all of them, but some of them -- when morning came, around train time, the train from Warm Springs to Griffin, they would say goodbye to their wives and say they had an important engagement in Griffin that day. So they would start off towards the railroad station but when they got down toward the bottom of the hill and were out of sight they would sneak around the corner to this little cottage and then they would sit there all the rest of the day until it was time for the afternoon train to come back to Warm Springs from Griffin.

That is why we always had a standing joke there about this little old wooden building. We used to call it Griffin and we still do call it Griffin. But, at the present time, it is a part of the quadrangle (?) for crippled children and it is serving a much better use than it did in the old days.

It is good to be back here again. I expect to have a fine ten-day holiday. I wish I could have it more often, but you know Brother Owen (Representative Emmett M. Owen, of Georgia), and the rest of these people on the Hill in Washington, they just make it impossible for me to be gone from the National Capital more than a week or ten days at a time. Just as long as they sit I have got to sit, too.

This year I hope to get back without fail this fall. I was headed this way last fall but had a bad tooth so had to put it off. Now that I am here I want to tell you how happy I am. I don't care whether it rains or whether the sun shines; I am going to have a good time.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Columbus, Georgia, March 30, 1938
(about 3.30 P.M.)

MR. MAYOR, MY FRIENDS OF COLUMBUS:

I am grateful to you for this fine greeting and, as I said to the Governor of Georgia a few minutes ago, I think it is very fitting that we should be conducted through Columbus by a conductor.

This is not my first visit by any means and it is not going to be my last.

As you know, there has been an association dating back about 110 years between Warm Springs and Columbus. I won't suggest that Warm Springs is as big or as important as Columbus but the old Army engineers who came here about 110 years ago to lay out these wonderful streets of Columbus spent the night in Warm Springs on the way and from that time on people from Columbus have made Warm Springs in large part what it is today, and we are very, very grateful to you for all that you have done to help us.

I am glad to come back after a few years, glad to see the fine progress that has been made in this city, in this county, in this part of Georgia, and, I think, all through this State because, as I think back fifteen or twenty years, it looks to me as if on every hand we can see the improvement in the processes of living in the State of Georgia. That progress is going to keep on in the days to come if you and I have anything to do with it.

And now, my friends, I have to go and see how the Army is getting on, but I will be back again with you, I hope very soon.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Pine Mountain Valley Project
March 31, 1938, 3.05 P.M.

I think that you children have grown one head since I was here last year.

As you know, this is one of my favorite spots in the United States. I am very proud of what you are doing, of what you children are doing and what your parents are doing, and I wish that a great many people from all over the country could come here and see with their own eyes the success of this Pine Mountain Valley project. There would be fewer people who scoff and ridicule if they could see this with their own eyes.

And it is not only the good that we have been able to accomplish -- that you have been able to accomplish for these two hundred families in Pine Mountain Valley. The good goes a great deal further than any of you people have any idea of. People all over these near-by counties are getting inspiration, they are learning things, they are getting ahead by coming and watching what you people are doing. That is extending all over this State of Georgia and extending across the line into the State of Alabama. I wish we had dozens and dozens of projects like this all over the country.

And so I am proud to come back here each year to see the real progress that is being made and I hope to come back here next year and see all of you people looking as well as you do now and you young people a little bit more grown up than you are now.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
to the patients of Warm Springs Foundation
at a buffet luncheon party in Georgia Hall,
April 1, 1938.

(Fred Botts greeted the President and Mrs. Roosevelt)

You know, Fred Botts is a very polite person. When he said I was prevented last autumn from coming here because of "circumstances", what he meant was not "circumstances" -- he meant a bad tooth.

I did miss last autumn but I hope to be back this year for Thanksgiving Day, which is usually the time we have our big party.

I am perfectly thrilled with the progress that is being made. I realize how very crowded it makes conditions for all of you good people when I come down here with a staff of twenty or thirty people but it is all in a good cause because, while we have to double up, at the same time we are selling Warm Springs to the Nation.

I don't know whether any official announcement has been made but I think that I can tell the Warm Springs family that at a meeting the other day we decided to go ahead with the construction of our wonderful new hospital -- something we wanted to do for a long time. So, just as soon as the plans can be finished and just as soon as the bids can be got -- provided they are low enough bids -- we are going ahead and I hope by this summer we will have the actual construction work under way.

There again, during the process of building this thirty-five bed hospital, it is going to be pretty noisy -- going to be noisier than Jerry (referring to Jerry Gould, 6-year-old patient, from Scranton, Pennsylvania) -- but we will have to put up with that while the carpentry

work is going on and while various other noises are being made in the erection of the building.

And when the building is built -- I hope we will get into it by early in 1939 -- we will all appreciate what a great need there is for the building today and we will wonder how we ever got on without it. It is going to help all the work we are doing down here and I hope that when we come up in November that the walls and perhaps the roof will be up.

I am glad to be here and am looking forward to being back with you all again.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Before the Governing Board of the Pan American Union
Pan American Building
On Pan American Day, April 14, 1938

MY FRIENDS OF PAN AMERICA:

There could be no more fitting occasion than the present for me to greet my friends of the twenty other American Republics. We have learned in this Western Hemisphere what community of interest really means. We have worked for it, created it, and (we) now we glory in it. Properly, therefore, Pan American Day is set aside as an annual testimony to the significance which the American family of nations has for the whole world.

Never was that significance greater than today. The twenty-one American Republics present proudly to the rest of the world a demonstration that the rule of justice and law can be substituted for the rule of force; that resort to war as an instrument of policy is not necessary; that international differences of all kinds can be solved through peaceful negotiation; that the sanctity of the pledged word faithfully observed and generously interpreted offers a system of security with freedom. The three hundred millions of (citizens) people who live in the American Republics are not different from other human beings. We have the same problems, the same differences, even the same material for controversy which exists (elsewhere) on other continents. Yet, we have undertaken contractual obligations to solve these normal human differences by maintaining peace; and that peace we are firmly resolved to maintain. It shall not be endangered by controversies within our own family; and we will not permit it to be

endangered from aggression coming from outside of our own hemisphere.

This, a common objective of all of us, forms a lasting foundation for the maintenance of an international understanding that is unique in the (world) history of civilization.

The American peoples, who today fortunately live as good neighbors, not only enjoy a privilege, but undertake a heavy responsibility. Fortunate in being remote from the tumult of conflicting doctrines and from the horrors of armed conflict -- from the tragedies whose shadows lie heavy on the world, the American Republics, nevertheless, face a (grave) serious test. If our good fortune is to continue, our will must be strong.

All of us, in every Republic, gained our independence because our fathers were willing to sacrifice their lives and all that they possessed for a great ideal. Some part of that duty to sacrifice rests also on us, their children. We have progressed far along the path that leads to government by the people in the interest of all the people. Our democratic system has conferred on all of us an inestimable gift of individual liberty within the law. We are vitally concerned with preserving the high standards of international restraint, international culture and international morality, which the lesson of centuries has taught is the first requirement of peaceful relationships between nations.

Now, more than ever before, we of this American Hemisphere must make plain that these principles, upon which so great a civilization is founded, are vibrant, productive and dynamic. National and international law and morality are not the restraints of weaklings;

they are signs of serene strength -- (confidence) confident in our purpose, (and) confident in our ability to maintain independence and democracy.

Particularly I am glad that in December of this present year representatives of all of our governments will once more assemble. This time it will be in the great capital of Peru. During these turbulent years the Inter-American Conferences have come to be an instrument for bringing ever closer the relationships between our several nations. In Lima we have a renewed opportunity to counsel together. I assure you that we in the United States have found peculiarly welcome the views, the opinions and the friendly advice of the statesmen of our sister republics. Public opinion in all of our countries benefits from learning with greater frequency and in greater extent the thoughts, the desires and the needs of the peoples of the other American nations.

In constant testimony of our mutual friendship and trust is the increasing progress in communications. The North, Central and South American voices which reach us through the air are (those) the voices of friends. Only a short time ago the people of the United States were enabled to hear a gracious message broadcast to them by my friend, the President of Argentina, and a few days later they listened to the address delivered to them by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Brazil, whom we here had been privileged to have in Washington as Brazil's Ambassador during the past three years. His significant words were applauded in every American home.

Yes, our ideal is democratic liberty. Our instrument is honor and friendship. Our method is increased understanding. Our

basis is confidence. So and not otherwise, in common effort we safeguard in this new world the great rights of our liberties and build our civilization for the advancement of humanity throughout the world. (Applause)

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Broadcast from the White House
Thursday, April 14, 1938, (about 10.30 P.M.)

MY FRIENDS:

Five months have gone by since I last spoke to the people of the Nation about the state of the Nation.

I had hoped to be able to defer this talk until next week because, as we all know, this is Holy Week. But what I want to say to you, the people of the country, is of such immediate need and relates so closely to the lives of human beings and the prevention of human suffering that I have felt that there should be no delay. In this decision I have been strengthened by the thought that by speaking tonight there may be greater peace of mind and that the hope of Easter may be more real at firesides everywhere, and therefore that it is not inappropriate to encourage peace when so many of us are thinking of the Prince of Peace.

Five years ago we faced a very serious problem of economic and social recovery. For four and a half years that recovery proceeded apace. It is only in the past seven months that it has received a visible setback.

And it is only within the past two months, as we have waited patiently to see whether the forces of business itself would counteract it, that it has become apparent that government itself can no longer safely fail to take aggressive government steps to meet it.

This recession has not returned to us (to) the disasters and suffering of the beginning of 1933. Your money in the bank is

safe; farmers are no longer in deep distress and have greater purchasing power; dangers of security speculation have been minimized; national income is almost 50% higher than it was in 1932; and government has an established and accepted responsibility for relief.

But I know that many of you have lost your jobs or have seen your friends or members of your families lose their jobs, and I do not propose that the Government shall pretend not to see these things. I know that the effect of our present difficulties has been uneven; that they have affected some groups and some localities seriously but that they have been scarcely felt in others. But I conceive the first duty of government is to protect the economic welfare of all the people in all sections and in all groups. I said in my Message opening the last session of the Congress that if private enterprise did not provide jobs this spring, government would take up the slack -- that I would not let the people down. We have all learned the lesson that government cannot afford to wait until it has lost the power to act.

Therefore, my friends, I have sent a Message of far-reaching importance to the Congress. I want to read to you tonight certain passages from that Message, and to talk with you about them.

In that Message I analyzed the causes of the collapse of 1929 in these words:

"over-speculation in and over-production of practically every article or instrument used by man millions of people, to be sure, had been put to work, but the products of their hands had exceeded the purchasing power of their pocketbooks Under the inexorable law of supply and demand, supplies so overran demand (which would pay) that production was compelled to stop. Unemployment and closed factories resulted. Hence the tragic years from 1929 to 1933."

Today I pointed out to the Congress that the national income -- not the Government's income but the total of the income of all the individual citizens and families of the United States -- every farmer, every worker, every banker, every professional man and every person who lived on income derived from investments -- that national income had amounted, in the year 1929, to eighty-one billion dollars. By 1932 this had fallen to thirty-eight billion dollars. Gradually, and up to a few months ago, it had risen to a total, an annual total, of sixty-eight billion dollars -- a pretty good come-back from the low point.

I then said this to the Congress:

"But the very vigor of the recovery in both durable goods and consumers' goods brought into the picture early in 1937, a year ago, certain highly undesirable practices, which were in large part responsible for the economic decline which began in the later months of that year. Again production had (outran) outran the ability to buy.

"There were many reasons for this over-production. One of them was fear -- fear of war abroad, fear of inflation, fear of nation-wide strikes. None of these fears have been borne out.

".... Production in many important lines of goods outran the ability of the public to purchase them, as I have said. For example, through the winter and spring of 1937 cotton factories in hundreds of cases were running on a three-shift basis, piling up cotton goods in the factory, (and) goods in the hands of middle men and retailers. For example, also, automobile manufacturers not only turned out a normal increase of finished cars, but encouraged the normal increase to run into abnormal figures, using every known method to push their sales. This meant, of course, that the steel mills of the Nation ran on a twenty-four hour basis, and the tire companies and cotton factories and glass factories and others speeded up to meet the same type of abnormally stimulated demand. Yes, the buying power of the Nation lagged behind.

"Thus by the autumn of 1937, last autumn, the Nation again had stocks on hand which the consuming public could not buy because the purchasing power of the consuming public had not kept pace with the production.

"During the same period ... the prices of many vital

products had risen faster than was warranted. (.....) For example, copper -- which undoubtedly can be produced at a profit in this country for from ten to twelve cents a pound -- was pushed up and up to seventeen cents a pound. The price of steel products of many kinds was increased far more than was justified by the increased wages of steel workers. In the case of many commodities the price to the consumer was raised well above the inflationary boom prices of 1929. In many lines of goods and materials, prices got so high in the summer of 1937 that buyers and builders ceased to buy or to build.

"... the economic process of getting out the raw materials, putting them through the manufacturing and finishing processes, selling them to the retailers, selling them to the consumer, and finally using them, got completely out of balance.

"... The laying off of workers came upon us last autumn and has been continuing at such a pace ever since that all of us, Government and banking and business and workers, and those faced with destitution, recognize the need for action."

All of this I said to the Congress today and I repeat it to you, the people of the country tonight.

I went on to point out to the Senate and the House of Representatives that all the energies of government and business must be directed to increasing the national income, to putting more people into private jobs, to giving security and a feeling of security to all people in all walks of life.

I am constantly thinking of all our people -- unemployed and employed alike -- of their human problems, their human problems of food and clothing and homes and education and health and old age. You and I agree that security is our greatest need -- the chance to work, the opportunity of making a reasonable profit in our business -- whether it be a very small business or a larger one -- the possibility of selling our farm products for enough money for our families to live on decently. I know these are the things that decide the well-being of all our people.

Therefore, I am determined to do all in my power to help you attain that security and because I know that the people themselves have a deep conviction that secure prosperity of that kind cannot be a lasting one except on a basis of (business) fair business dealing and a basis where all from the top to the bottom share in the prosperity. I repeated to the Congress today that neither it nor the Chief Executive can afford

"to weaken or destroy great reforms which, during the past five years, have been effected on behalf of the American people. In our rehabilitation of the banking structure and of agriculture, in our provisions for adequate and cheaper credit for all types of business, in our acceptance of national responsibility for unemployment relief, in our strengthening of the credit of state and local government, in our encouragement of housing, and slum clearance and home ownership, in our supervision of stock exchanges and public utility holding companies and the issuance of new securities, in our provision for social security itself, the electorate of America wants no backward steps taken.

"We have recognized the right of labor to free organization, to collective bargaining; and machinery for the handling of labor relations is now in existence. The principles are established even though we can all admit that, through the evolution of time, administration and practices can be improved. Such improvement can come about most quickly and most peacefully through sincere efforts to understand and assist on the part of labor leaders and employers alike.

"The never-ceasing evolution of human society will doubtless bring forth new problems which will require new adjustments. Our immediate task is to consolidate and maintain the gains we have achieved.

"In this situation there is no reason and no occasion for any American to allow his fears to be aroused or his energy and enterprise to be paralyzed by doubt or uncertainty."

I came to the conclusion that the present-day problem calls for action both by the Government and by the people, that we suffer primarily from a failure of consumer demand because of lack of buying power. Therefore it is up to us to create an economic upturn.

"How and where can and should the Government help to start an (upward spiral) economic upturn?"

I went on in my Message today to propose three groups of measures and I will summarize (the) my recommendations.

First, I asked for certain appropriations which are intended to keep the Government expenditures for work relief and similar purposes during the coming fiscal year that begins on the first of July, keep that going at the same rate of expenditure as at present. That includes additional money for the Works Progress Administration; additional funds for the Farm Security Administration; additional allotments for the National Youth Administration, and more money for the Civilian Conservation Corps, in order that it can maintain the existing number of camps now in operation.

These appropriations, made necessary by increased unemployment, will cost about a billion and a quarter dollars more than the estimates which I sent to the Congress on the third of January last.

Second, I told the Congress that the Administration proposes to make additional bank reserves available for the credit needs of the country. About one billion four hundred million dollars of gold now in the Treasury will be used to pay these additional expenses of the Government, and three-quarters of a billion dollars of additional credit will be made available to the banks by reducing the reserves now required by the Federal Reserve Board.

These two steps taking care of relief needs and adding to bank credits are in our best judgment insufficient by themselves to start the Nation on a sustained upward movement.

Therefore, I came to the third kind of Government action

which I consider to be vital. I said to the Congress:

"You and I cannot afford to equip ourselves with two rounds of ammunition where three rounds are necessary. If we stop at relief and credit, we may find ourselves without ammunition before the enemy is routed. If we are fully equipped with the third round of ammunition, we stand to win the battle against adversity."

(The) This third proposal is to make definite additions to the purchasing power of the Nation by providing new work over and above the continuing of the old work.

First, to enable the United States Housing Authority to undertake the immediate construction of about three hundred million dollars worth of additional slum clearance projects.

Second, to renew a public works program by starting as quickly as possible about one billion dollars worth of needed permanent public improvements in our states, and their counties and cities.

Third, to add one hundred million dollars to the estimate for Federal aid highways in excess of the amount that I recommended in January.

Fourth, to add thirty-seven million dollars over and above the former estimate of sixty-three millions (dollars) for flood control and reclamation.

Fifth, to add twenty-five million dollars additional for Federal buildings in various parts of the country.

In recommending this program I am thinking not only of the immediate economic needs of the people of the Nation, but also of their personal liberties -- the most precious possession of all Americans. I am thinking of our democracy, (and) I am thinking of the recent trend in other parts of the world away from the democratic ideal.

Democracy has disappeared in several other great nations --

disappeared not because the people of those nations disliked democracy, but because they had grown tired of unemployment and insecurity, of seeing their children hungry while they sat helpless in the face of government confusion, government weakness, -- weakness through lack of leadership in government. Finally, in desperation, they chose to sacrifice liberty in the hope of getting something to eat. We in America know that our own democratic institutions can be preserved and made to work. But in order to preserve them we need to act together, to meet the problems of the Nation boldly, and to prove that the practical operation of democratic government is equal to the task of protecting the security of the people.

Not only our future economic soundness but the very soundness of our democratic institutions depends on the determination of our Government to give employment to idle men. The people of America are in agreement in defending their liberties at any cost, and the first line of that defense lies in the protection of economic security. Your Government, seeking to protect democracy, must prove that Government is stronger than the forces of business depression.

History proves that dictatorships do not grow out of strong and successful governments but out of weak and helpless (ones) governments. If by democratic methods people get a government strong enough to protect them from fear and starvation, their democracy succeeds, but if they do not, they grow impatient. Therefore, the only sure bulwark of continuing liberty is a government strong enough to protect the interests of the people, and a people strong enough and well enough informed to maintain its sovereign control over its government.

We are a rich Nation; we can afford to pay for security and

prosperity without having to sacrifice our liberties into the bargain.

In the first century of our republic we were short of capital, short of workers and short of industrial production, but we were rich, very rich in free land, and free timber and free mineral wealth. The Federal Government of those days rightly assumed the duty of promoting business and relieving depression by giving subsidies of land and other resources.

Thus, from our earliest days we have had a tradition of substantial government help to our system of private enterprise. But today the Government no longer has vast tracts of rich land to give away and we have discovered, too, that we must spend large sums of money to conserve our land from further erosion and our forests from further depletion. The situation is also very different from the old days, because now we have plenty of capital, banks and insurance companies loaded with idle money; plenty of industrial productive capacity and (several) many millions of workers looking for jobs. It is following tradition as well as necessity, if Government strives to put idle money and idle men to work, to increase our public wealth and to build up the health and strength of the people -- (and) to help our system of private enterprise to function again.

It is going to cost something to get out of this recession this way but the profit of getting out of it will pay for the cost several times over. Lost working time is lost money. Every day that a workman is unemployed, or a machine is unused, or a business organization is marking time, it is a loss to the Nation. Because of idle men and idle machines this Nation lost one hundred billion dollars between 1929 and the Spring of 1933, in less than four years. This year

you, the people of this country, are making about twelve billion dollars less than you were last year.

If you think back to the experiences of the early years of this Administration you will remember the doubts and fears expressed about the rising expenses of Government. But to the surprise of the doubters, as we proceeded to carry on the program which included Public Works and Work Relief, the country grew richer instead of poorer.

It is worthwhile to remember that the annual national people's income was thirty billion dollars more last year in 1937 than it was in 1932. It is true that the national debt increased sixteen billion dollars, but remember that in (this) that increase must be included several billion dollars worth of assets which eventually will reduce that debt and that many billion dollars of permanent public improvements -- schools, roads, bridges, tunnels, public buildings, parks and a host of other things meet your eye in every one of the thirty-one hundred counties in the United States.

No doubt you will be told that the Government spending program of the past five years did not cause the increase in our national income. They will tell you that business revived because of private spending and investment. That is true in part, for the Government spent only a small part of the total. But that Government spending acted as a trigger, a trigger to set off private activity. That is why the total addition to our national production and national income has been so much greater than the contribution of the Government itself.

In pursuance of that thought I said to the Congress today:

"I want to make it clear that we do not believe that we can get an adequate rise in national income merely by investing, and lending or spending public funds. It is

essential in our economy that private funds must be put to work and all of us recognize that such funds are entitled to a fair profit."

As national income rises, "let us not forget that Government expenditures will go down and Government tax receipts will go up."

The Government contribution of land that we once made to business was the land of all the people. And the Government contribution of money which we now make to business ultimately comes out of the labor of all the people. It is, therefore, only sound morality, as well as a sound distribution of buying power, that the benefits of the prosperity coming from this use of the money of all the people (should) ought to be distributed among all the people -- the people at the bottom as well as the people at the top. Consequently, I am again expressing my hope that the Congress will enact at this session a wage and hour bill putting a floor under industrial wages and a limit on working hours -- to ensure a better distribution of our prosperity, a better distribution of available work, and a sounder distribution of buying power.

You may get all kinds of impressions in regard to the total cost of this new program, or in regard to the amount that will be added to the net national debt.

It is a big program. Last autumn in a sincere effort to bring Government expenditures and Government income into closer balance, the Budget I worked out called for sharp decreases in Government spending during the coming year.

But, in the light of present conditions, conditions of today, those estimates (were) turned out to have been far too low. This new program adds two billion and sixty-two million dollars to direct Treasury

expenditures and another nine hundred and fifty million dollars to Government loans -- (and) the latter sum, because they are loans, will come back to the Treasury in the future.

The net effect on the debt of the Government is this -- between now and July 1, 1939 -- fifteen months away -- the Treasury will have to raise less than a billion and a half dollars of new money.

Such an addition to the net debt of the United States need not give concern to any citizen, for it will return to the people of the United States many times over in increased buying power and eventually in much greater Government tax receipts because of the increase in the citizen income.

What I said to the Congress today in the close of my Message I repeat to you now.

"Let us unanimously recognize the fact that the Federal debt, whether it be twenty-five billions or forty billions, can only be paid if the Nation obtains a vastly increased citizen income. I repeat that if this citizen income can be raised to eighty billion dollars a year the national Government and the overwhelming majority of state and local governments will be definitely 'out of the red.' The higher the national income goes the faster will we be able to reduce the total of Federal and state and local debts. Viewed from every angle, today's purchasing power -- the citizens' income of today -- is not at this time sufficient to drive the economic system of America at higher speed. Responsibility of Government requires us at this time to supplement the normal processes and in so supplementing them to make sure that the addition is adequate. We must start again on a long steady upward incline in national income.

...."And in that process, which I believe is ready to start, let us avoid the pitfalls of the past -- the over-production, the over-speculation, and indeed all the extremes which we did not succeed in avoiding in 1929. In all of this, Government cannot and should not act alone. Business must help. And I am sure business will help.

"We need more than the materials of recovery. We need a united national will.

"We need to recognize nationally that the demands of no group, however just, can be satisfied unless that group is prepared to share in finding a way to produce the income from which they and all other groups can be paid. You, as the Congress, I, as the President, must by virtue of our offices, seek the national good by preserving the balance between all groups and all sections.

"We have at our disposal the national resources, the money, the skill of hand and head to raise our economic level -- our citizens' income. Our capacity is limited only by our ability to work together. What is needed is the will.

"The time has come to bring that will into action with every driving force at our command. And I am determined to do my share.

....."Certain positive requirements seem to me to accompany the will -- if we have that will.

"There is placed on all of us the duty of self-restraint. That is the discipline of a democracy. Every patriotic citizen must say to himself or herself, that immoderate statement, appeals to prejudice, the creation of unkindness, are offenses not against an individual or individuals, but offenses against the whole population of the United States.

"Use of power by any group, however situated, to force its interest or to use its strategic position in order to receive more from the common fund than its contribution to the common fund justifies, is an attack against and not an aid to our national life.

"Self-restraint implies restraint by articulate public opinion, trained to distinguish fact from falsehood, trained to believe that bitterness is never a useful instrument in public affairs. There can be no dictatorship by an individual or by a group in this Nation, save through division fostered by hate. Such division there must never be."

And finally I should like to say a personal word to you.

I never forget that I live in a house owned by all the American people and that I have been given their trust.

I try always to remember that their deepest problems are human. I constantly talk with those who come to tell me their own points of view -- with those who manage the great industries and financial

institutions of the country -- with those who represent the farmer and the worker -- and often, very often with average citizens without high position who come to this house. And constantly I seek to look beyond the doors of the White House, beyond the officialdom of the National Capital, into the hopes and fears of men and women in their homes. I have travelled the country over many times. My friends, my enemies, my daily mail bring to me reports of what you are thinking and hoping. I want to be sure that neither battles nor burdens of office shall ever blind me to an intimate knowledge of the way the American people want to live and the simple purposes for which they put me here.

In these great problems of government I try not to forget that what really counts at the bottom of it all, is that the men and women willing to work can have a decent job, -- a decent job to take care of themselves and their homes and their children adequately; that the farmer, the factory worker, the storekeeper, the gas station man, the manufacturer, the merchant -- big and small -- the banker who takes pride in the help (he gives) that he can give to the building of his community -- that all of these can be sure of a reasonable profit and safety for the (savings they earn) earnings that they make -- not for today nor tomorrow alone, but as far ahead as they can see.

I can hear your unspoken wonder as to where we are headed in this troubled world. I cannot expect all of the people to understand all of the people's problems; but it is my job to try to understand all (those) of the problems.

I always try to remember that reconciling differences cannot satisfy everyone completely. Because I do not expect too much, I am not disappointed. But I know that I must never give up -- that I must

never let the greater interest of all the people down, merely because that might be for the moment the easiest personal way out.

I believe that we have been right in the course we have charted. To abandon our purpose of building a greater, a more stable and a more tolerant America, would be to miss the tide and perhaps to miss the port. I propose to sail ahead. I feel sure that your hopes (and), I feel sure that your help are with me. For to reach a port, we must sail -- sail, not lie at anchor, sail, not drift.

REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT FROM THE SOUTH PORTICO
to the guests gathered on the South Lawn
(Easter Egg Rolling)
April 18, 1938, 2.30 P.M.

I am very glad to see you, all of you, here today, old and young alike.

I hope you are having a grand time and I hope the rain is going to stop.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
before the Daughters of the American Revolution
in Convention Assembled
April 21, 1938, 4.10 P.M.

DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION:

I couldn't let a fifth year go by without coming to see you. I must ask you to take me just as I am, in a business suit -- (exploding flashlight bulb) -- and I see you are still in favor of national defense (laughter) -- take me as I am, with no prepared remarks. You know, as a matter of fact, I would have been here to one of your conventions in prior years -- one or more -- but it is not the time that it takes to come before you and speak for half an hour, it is the preparation for that half-hour. And I suppose that for every half-hour speech that I make before a convention or over the radio, I put in ten hours preparing it.

So I have to ask you to bear with me, to let me just come here without preparation to tell you how glad I am to avail myself of this opportunity, to tell you how proud I am, as a Revolutionary descendant, to greet you.

I thought of preaching on a text, but I won't. I will only give you the text and I won't preach on it. I think I can afford to give you the text because it so happens, through no fault of my own, that I am descended from a number of people who came over in the Mayflower but, more than that, every one of my ancestors, both sides -- and when you go back four generations or five generations it means 32 or 64 of them -- every single one of them, without exception, was in this land in 1776. (Applause) And there was only one Tory among them.

(Laughter-applause)

And so the text is this: Remember, remember always that all of us, and you and I especially, are descended from immigrants and revolutionists. (Applause)

I am particularly glad to know that today you are making this fine appeal to the youth of America. To these rising generations, to our sons and grandsons and great-grandsons, we cannot overestimate the importance of what we are doing in this year, in our own generations, to keep alive the spirit of American democracy. (Applause) The spirit of opportunity is the kind of a spirit that has led us as a nation -- not in a small group but as a nation -- to meet the very great problems of the past.

We look for a younger generation that is going to be more American than we are. We are doing the best that we can and yet we can do better than that, we can do more than that, by inculcating in the boys and girls of this country today some of the underlying fundamentals, the reasons that brought our immigrant ancestors to this country, the reasons that impelled our Revolutionary ancestors to throw off a fascist yoke. (Applause)

Yes, we have got a great many things to do. Among other things in this world is the need of being very, very certain, no matter what happens, that the sovereignty of the United States will never be impaired. (Applause)

There have been former occasions, conventions of the Daughters of the American Revolution, when voices were raised, needed to be raised, for better national defense. This year, you are raising those same voices and I am glad of it. (Applause) But I am glad also that the

Government of the United States can assure you today that it is taking definite, practical steps for the defense of the Nation. (Applause)

And so I am glad to have had an opportunity to come in in this way and talk to you very simply and very sincerely. Perhaps, some time in the next two and a half years, I will have an opportunity to come here and make a prepared speech, but this kind of a party appeals to me.

I am glad to have been with you and I wish you all the good luck in the world.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Arthurdale, West Virginia
May 27, 1938 (about 2.00 P.M.)

MY FRIENDS OF ARTHURDALE:

At last after many attempts dating back through several years -- at last I have succeeded in coming to Arthurdale (applause) -- and I can greet you as old friends because you are Mrs. Roosevelt's (personal) old friends (applause) and also because I have heard so much about you. (Laughter)

Much has been written all over the country about you good people, about the conditions of life in certain towns in this part of the world and about what the United States Government has done here at Arthurdale. The Nation has heard about Scott's Run, for example, with its very poor conditions of life, and the Nation has heard about Arthurdale with its vastly improved conditions of life. But I think I voice the thoughts of you who live here when I say to the country over the radio that about the last thing that you would want would be to be publicized as some rare and special type of Americans. (Applause) I think -- (applause) I think you want to be known as a pretty fair average sample of the best type of Americans. (Applause)

(Let me put it this way and I think and hope that you will agree with me when I say:)

I think you will agree with me if I put history this way:

Back in 1933 the whole Nation knew that it faced a crisis in economic conditions but the Nation did not realize that it also faced a crisis in its social conditions. If anyone were to ask me what is the outstanding contribution that has been made to American

life in the past five years, I would say without hesitation that it is the awakening of the social conscience of America.

As one part, and only one part, of the effort of your government to improve social conditions, we undertook, as you remember, in dozens of places scattered (over) almost over every part of the country, to set up, with the cooperation of the local people themselves, projects to provide better homes, a better chance to raise foodstuffs, and a better chance to make both ends meet in maintaining a reasonably decent standard of (life) living through the passing years.

Many different types of projects were undertaken -- some of them in wholly rural sections, some in cities, some in suburbs, some for industrial workers, some for miners, some, like Arthur-dale, a combination of industry and farming. These projects represent something new and because we in America had little or no experience along these lines, there were some failures -- not a complete failure in the case of any given project, but partial failures due to bad guesses on economic subjects like new industries or lack of markets.

But, on the whole, (however) the percentage of good guesses in the average of these projects has been extraordinarily high, and for this success the principal part of the credit properly should go to the individual families who, themselves, have come to live in these new communities, people like you here in Arthurdale. (Applause)

And, incidentally, the lessons that we have all learned (will) are going to save a hundred times their cost in dollars just as fast as government or private capital -- or as I hope, both of them -- go

on with the inevitable task of improving living conditions throughout the country and helping Americans to live as modern science has made it possible for them to live. (The) This extra cost of pioneering ventures such as this represents development cost which we justifiably charge off as the inevitable cost of all progress -- just as we have in the past charged off the huge government share in the development (costs) of the railroads, the cost of cables, (the) of airplanes, and (the) hundreds of millions of dollars in improved highways that have made the automobile possible. But what is equally important to me, the lessons learned from this first bold government venture, (will) those lessons are going to save human lives and human happiness as well as dollars in this march of progress that lies ahead of us.

(Applause)

This is a high school graduation and I am speaking just as much to you who graduate today as I am to your parents and your grown-up friends because you are the citizens of tomorrow -- not just this graduating class but thousands of other high school graduating classes in every state of the Union.

Last night a very old and dear friend of mine gave me a little clipping out of a North Carolina paper. He is with me today, my old Chief, former Secretary of the Navy under Woodrow Wilson, Josephus Daniels, now the United States Ambassador to Mexico.

(Applause) And this clipping brings back a quarter of a century. It is headed May 26, 1913. It says that Franklin Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, delivered the Commencement Address at A. & M. College in North Carolina. "The economics of a life of a people," he said, "often seem like academic questions when we study them out of

textbooks but they seem like life or death when we try to feed a hungry family. The question of production of food supply was an academic question twenty years ago; today it is becoming a question of bread and butter." (Applause) So you see, as my old Chief said, the Assistant Secretary of the Navy has not changed very much in twenty-five years. (Applause) Now, I will carry you back a shorter distance.

When you, today's graduates, were of grade school age we, your elders in the United States, we were asleep at the switch and your government (also) was also asleep at the switch. For many years, other nations of the world were giving serious (consideration) attention to and taking definite action on many social problems while we in the United States were pushing them aside with the idea that perhaps some day we (would) might get around to meeting them.

We had heard ten years ago of the ideals of ending child labor, of initiating a five-day week, of shortening working hours, (of) putting a floor under wages, (of) clearing slums, (of) bringing electricity into the homes, (and of) giving families the chance to build or buy a home on easy terms, (of) starting old-age pensions and unemployment insurance. But, my friends, all (these) those things were in the greater part just a beautiful dream -- a dream until your government, five years ago, got tired of waiting, stepped in and started to make the dreams come true. (Applause)

Now, Government has done little more than (to) start the ball rolling. Government knows how much more (there) remains to be done. But Government hopes, now that it has taken the first risks and shown the way, that private capital and business men will see how

much it is to their own advantage -- and profit -- to keep the ball a-rolling -- and keep it rolling so well that the inevitable wider improvement in American social conditions will come about in normal course of private enterprise without compelling the Government to use large amounts of taxpayers' money to keep America up to date.

A great many sincere people -- good citizens with influence and money -- have been (come) coming to West Virginia mining towns in the past two or three years, to see (the) conditions under which American families lived, conditions under which, unfortunately, many American families still live. Many of these people who have come up here to this State and to other projects in other states have come to me after, for example, a visit to Scott's Run or similar places (to see me after their visit to Scott's Run or similar places) and have expressed to me their surprise and their horror at things they have seen. And they have said to me: "I did not imagine that such conditions could exist in the United States."

They have wanted to help, help at the particular spot they have seen -- but the lesson (which) that I have found it difficult to get across to them has been the fact that they have seen only one spot or two spots -- tiny, single spots on (a) the great map of the United States, a map (which) that is covered over with hundreds and even thousands of similar spots. Yes, un-American standards exist by no means in a few coal towns only. They exist in almost every industrial community and they exist in very many of the farming counties of the country.

Now of course, pending the time that private capital and private enterprise will take up the burden, the money your Government

(thus) is spending (spends) to encourage the Nation to live better -- especially that part of the Nation which most needs it -- that money is taxpayers' money.

Two questions, therefore, arise: "Is that spending of taxpayers' money justified from the point of view of the individual taxpayer and how should the money be raised."

Well, so far as the taxpayer's individual interest is concerned, I always look at it this way:

Taxes -- and I am talking about taxes to you who are graduating today just as much as your parents for the very good reason that very soon you will be taxpayers yourselves -- taxes, local and state and federal combined, are nowhere near as high in this country as they are in any other great nation that pretends to be up to date. If I were a business man making and hoping to continue to make good profits, I would remind myself as I paid my income tax, moderate by the standards of other nations, that the most important factor in the kind of an active economic life in which profits can be made, the most important factor is people -- able, alert, competent (and), up-to-date people -- people to produce and people with ability to consume. Money invested to make and keep the people of this Nation that kind of people is therefore a pretty good business investment.
(Applause)

And if I were the same man thinking about inheritance taxes (and), of what I was going to leave, of what I could leave to my children, I would say to myself that to leave them a living in a nation of strong and able men and women is to leave them a better heritage of security than a few thousand dollars saved on an inherit-

ance tax. (Applause)

Now, how should taxes be paid?

For a great many years, the Nation as a whole has accepted the principle that taxes ought to be paid by individuals and families in accordance with their capacity to pay. To put it another way, it has meant a graduated tax on a man's increase in wealth. For instance, a poor man or (poor) family whose increase in wealth in a given year is below a certain figure pays no direct Federal taxes at all; he pays some indirect taxes but no direct taxes; when the family gains more than \$2,500. in a year, he gets into the income tax group and that type of (the) family (pays) starts in by paying a small percentage on (these) the year's gains.

But, as the gains get still larger, the percentage of the tax goes up so that, for example, when a family's wealth increases to let us say a gain of \$100,000. a year, (they have) that family has to pay a third of it to the Federal Government. And in the case of still richer people, with half a million dollars a year income or a million dollars a year income, they may have to pay more than half of their large incomes to the State and Federal governments.

Last week, ten days ago, the Congress passed a new tax bill. It contained many good features -- improvements in tax administration, the elimination of a number of what we call nuisance taxes on articles in common use, the lightening of the tax burden on the small corporation (as) in accordance with what I recommended to the Congress last fall. And I hope that these changes (made by) in this tax bill may be helpful to business and that this belief may, in itself, be a factor in the revival of business enterprise. (Applause)

But, when the President of the United States has a bill sent to him from Congress, he has to read the whole bill and so on the other side of the ledger, in this tax bill I must tell you quite frankly that I cannot help but regret that two very fundamental principles of government must once more be called to the attention of the American public.

Both of (them) these matters of principle, stripped of every attempt to confuse, are extraordinarily simple and can be understood by every citizen.

Two years ago, in 1936, many large corporations, and especially those big corporations that were owned or controlled by a comparatively small number of very rich stockholders, were in the habit of failing to declare the dividends, the profits that they had earned. (Thus their) In that way these stockholders, small in number, large stockholders, were in a position to leave the profits that their money had made, leave those profits in the controlled corporation -- paying the government on these profits only the normal corporation tax (of) that ran from ten to fifteen per cent. (Thus) But, at the same time, by this method, these stockholders were able to avoid (avoided) paying a personal income tax at a much higher rate, at a rate which in many cases would have involved a tax payment of fifty per cent, or sixty per cent, or even higher because the stockholders were in what is known as the upper brackets of the personal income tax.

Now, the Treasury Department found many instances of closely held corporations which, starting with the comparatively modest capital of several million dollars -- and that is considered modest capital by a lot of people -- had, over a period of years

grown into corporations worth several hundreds of millions of dollars without ever declaring a dividend to their stockholders. (This) That meant a definite, though of course a strictly legal, device, a device by which these stockholders greatly increased their wealth year (by) after year without having to pay to the Government more than a normal corporation tax, and thus escaping very large sums of personal income tax payments.

(The) That Revenue Act of (1936) two years ago sought to end this serious loophole.

In principle our objective was right but in practice, probably because it was a new thing, the Act as finally worked out in the Senate undoubtedly did prevent many small corporations from normal and reasonable business expansion, from building up adequate surpluses, or from paying off old debts.

The tax bill this year sought to get rid of these inequitable features, quite properly, but to retain at the same time the principle of stopping the tax avoidance that I have described. As finally passed, the bill retains (that) the principle but the penalty for these large corporations, the penalty for withholding dividends to their stockholders (is) has been made so small -- only two and a half per cent at the most -- that it is doubtful, very doubtful, whether it will wholly eliminate the old tax avoidance practices of the past.

Now, it is true that the bill seeks to strengthen the authority of the Government to act against companies (which) that clearly seek to avoid these surtaxes (for their stockholders) by failing to declare dividends out of their profits; (and) but I hope

that this new provision, together with (the) another recent favorable decision (of) by the Supreme Court in interpreting the (prior) old law, that this will retard the revival of the old evil. It seems to me that it is the definite duty and interest of the public and you are the public, the interest of the Legislative and the Executive branches of the Government to watch very closely to see what happens during the coming year, as a result of these new provisions.

We must always remember that this old method of greatly increasing private fortunes through the withholding of corporate dividends was open and useful only to those citizens who already had wealth large enough to control these large corporations -- people whose personal income was already large enough to put them in the higher surtax brackets.

The position of (the) this Administration is, in necessity, (therefore) this:

We are delighted to remove any existing barriers against every little business (in the Nation) or any little business in the United States which is seeking to set itself squarely on its own feet; (seeking to pay off its debts and seeking to make a reasonable profit;) but the Administration does not want large closely held corporations making large profits to be used as a vehicle by the small number of their owners in order to avoid legitimate income taxes. And I think the people of this country are squarely behind the Administration in this belief. (Applause)

It is also true that for a number of years it has been recognized that this progressive taxation of wealth realistically (should) ought to apply not only to salaries and to dividends and to

bond coupons but also to other forms of wealth such as increases that are known as capital gains -- and I find many, many people who never realized what capital gains means -- in one's capital by selling any form of property at a profit.

This new bill, that is still before me at this moment, wholly eliminates the progressive tax principle with respect to these capital (profits) gains: it taxes small capital profits and large capital profits at exactly the same tax rate, and that, my friends, is not right. (Applause)

In other words, if you or I were to sell stocks, (which) that we have held for a few years, at a profit of, let us say, -- to most of us it would sound like a pretty good profit, -- five thousand dollars, we would have to pay a tax of fifteen per cent on that profit under this new bill; whereas, the man who has made a profit of five hundred thousand dollars, half a million dollars, on stocks that he has owned is required, under this new bill, to pay a tax of only fifteen per cent, just as you and I (would). Nobody, by any stretch of the imagination, can say that this new provision maintains the principle of payment in proportion to ability to pay.

Some people who have favored this abandonment of principle have justified their position on the ground that one has to abandon principles once in a while when there is an emergency and that the abandonment of this particular principle will encourage many rich men to take a new risk with their capital and invest it in new enterprises.

But this school of thought finds it very difficult to answer the fact that almost all -- (about) over eighty per cent of

all capital gains that are reported -- are profits made in the stock market -- profits made not by developing new companies, not by starting new industries the way they are being started at Arthurdale, Oh, no, but profits made by (but by) buying stocks of old companies, buying them low and selling them high, or by the still possible method of selling stocks short -- selling stocks you do not own -- and then buying them in at a lower price.

The abandonment of the principle of progressive tax payments in accordance with capacity to pay may encourage a small amount of capital to go into new productive enterprises but, chiefly, it will help those who make large profits in buying and selling existing stocks.

New productive enterprise, and you here in this community know what that term means, it is not created by the buying of stocks of established companies when they are selling low and selling them when they are high. I should like to see a revision of our tax laws which would really encourage new enterprise and new investment and the undertaking by private capital of projects like this that the Government has undertaken here (at) in Arthurdale. But there is no assurance that untaxed savings will go into such new investment or such new enterprise. For, they may be hoarded or they may be lost in the inflation or the deflation that occurs in the shuffling about of existing investments.

Yes, we, as a nation, (should) ought to adopt tax policies (which) that will encourage men to venture, (and) men to build new productive wealth. And, unless something is added to the combined wealth of the nation, one man's capital gain may be nothing more than

another man's capital loss.

It will be noted that in this analysis of this abandonment of what I believe is a basic principle, I have attacked no person. I have merely called the attention of the country to certain clear-cut inescapable facts -- and especially to the fact that this tax bill which is in many respects (is) a good one, actually abandons the accepted principle of progressive taxation at a point (which) that is very important in our economic life.

Here again is an example of a provision of law which actually, and in plain English, gives an infinitely greater tax concession to the man who makes a very great profit than to the man who makes a comparatively small profit. It helps the very few, therefore, at the expense of the many. To carry on a government, (a) you and I know that some definite total sum has to be raised, whether it is county government or a state government or a federal government. If the many who make small capital gains have to pay the same rate as the few who make large capital gains, it means that the tax rate for the little fellow must be higher than if we had stuck to the accepted principle of a graduated tax, and that is good logic. (Applause)

Therefore, and in accordance with recommendations that I have made during several (past) years past, I hope that the Congress, when the new Congress comes back next January, will undertake a broader program of improving the Federal tax system as a whole, improving it in the light of accepted principles of fairness, fairness in American taxation, (and) fairness in the light of the necessary incentives in our economic life.

In the light of some of the similar situations you have been

in in the past, you will see the difficulty in which your President has been placed. This tax bill contains features that ought to become law, but it contains several undesirable features, especially the ones that I have just been talking about.

Here is the problem: If I sign the bill -- and I have until midnight tonight to sign it -- many people, with some justification, many people will think that I approve the abandonment of an important principle of American taxation. And if I veto the bill it will prevent many of the desirable features (of it) from going into effect.

Therefore, -- now, I am choosing this occasion when old and young are gathered together, when people are listening in every state of the Union, I am taking this occasion to make an announcement -- therefore, for the first time since I have been President, I am going to take the third course which is open to me under the Constitution.

(I am going to let the Act go into effect at midnight tonight without my approval.)

At midnight tonight this new tax bill automatically will become law but it will become law without my signature or my approval.

(Applause) (By so doing, I call) By taking that course, I am calling the definite attention of the American people to those unwise parts of the bill that I have been (talked) talking to you about today -- one of them (which) a part that may restore in the future certain forms of tax avoidance of the past, and of continued concentrated investment power, which we in Washington had begun to put an end to, and the other feature a definite abandonment of a principle of tax policy long ago accepted as a part of our American system.

Two things we can well remember.

The first is that our whole tax system, state, local and federal, can and must be greatly improved in the coming year.

(The second is) But the other part is worth remembering too, that we in this country are getting more practical results in the way of bettering the social conditions of the nation, getting that out of our taxes than ever before in our history. And that is why it is a pretty good idea to talk taxes not only to parents of America but also to the younger generation of America. (Applause)

I have been thrilled today by all I have seen. I have been made happy in meeting so many people that I have heard a lot about, by seeing them in their own homes, seeing the splendid work that has been going on. I want to tell you, my friends of Arthurdale, that I am proud of what I have seen (here) today and I am proud of all of you, old and young alike, (who) that are helping so greatly to make this, this community, an American success. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
(From the rear platform of his special train)
Keyser, West Virginia
May 27, 1938

(There were about 2,000 people in the audience.)

I am glad to see you all and glad to come back into this valley. You know, I always feel that you good people up here have got one of the most wonderful pieces of scenery, one of the most delightful valleys in the whole of the United States.

I have had a grand day, today, looking over the Arthurdale Project, which is an extraordinarily interesting thing in itself, and I have had the pleasure of being accompanied by your Governor and your Senator Neely and your Congressmen from this part of the world.

It is good to see you all. One of my principal regrets down there in Washington is that I do not have time to get away and motor through this country. It is a lot better than seeing it by train and I hope this summer I will be able to get a day or two off and come up this way. I have known this country for a great many years; when I was with the Navy Department in 1913 I used to come up here for trout fishing.

It is good to see you. (Applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
(including the address of Mayor MacLaren, of New Brunswick, Canada)
Delivered at the Naval Academy, Annapolis
At the Graduation Exercises
June 2, 1938, at about 11.00 o'clock A.M.

A quarter of a century ago I began coming to Graduation Exercises at the United States Naval Academy. I find it a good custom and I hope to be following it occasionally when I have reached the age of the oldest Admiral on the retired list. As a retired Commander-in-Chief of the Navy I could do nothing else.

The only time I disgraced myself was, I think, during the World War. Because of the strenuous work in the Navy Department, I was a bit in arrears on sleep. On that occasion the temperature in Bancroft Hall was (in the neighborhood of) a little over a hundred. There I was sitting on the right of the Superintendent of the Naval Academy. The speaker of the occasion began his address. My eyes slowly but firmly closed. I think indeed that my mouth fell open. I slept ungracefully but soundly directly in front of the eyes of the entire graduating class. (Laughter) Could anything be more un-military, more humiliating and, at the same time, (but) more completely satisfactory? (Laughter)

You who are about to become Officers of the Navy of the United States have had four years of advice -- kindly advice but very firm advice. And I do not propose to add to it except to make one friendly suggestion which is not addressed to you as Officers but is intended to apply to you just as much as to this year's graduates (of) in any other college or school in the country.

No matter whether your specialty (is) be naval science, or

medicine, or the law, or teaching, or the church, or (the) civil service, or business, or public service -- remember that you will never reach the top and stay at the top unless you are well-rounded, well-rounded in your knowledge of all the other factors in modern civilization that lie outside of your own (special) profession.

That applies to all of world thought and world problems, but it applies, of course, with special emphasis to the thought and the problems of our own Nation.

Let me illustrate by quoting what Theodore Roosevelt once said to me when he was in the White House. A bill for the conservation of natural resources, a nation wide measure, a measure, which he had strongly recommended, had been defeated in the Congress by a coalition of votes (by) of Members who saw in the bill no special advantage to their own individual Congressional districts. And when he learned of the defeat of this pet measure of his, he said what almost every President has said, first or last, ("I wish we could have a) "I wish sometimes that I could be for just five minutes President and Congress too." And I asked him what he would do in that event. He said, "I would pass a Constitutional Amendment requiring that no person could run for Congress unless he had filed a certificate that he had visited every one of the forty-eight states in the Union."

You who graduate today will fill many important Government posts during many intervals of shore duty. In these posts you will need national knowledge -- knowledge of the problems of industry, knowledge of the problems of farming, knowledge of the problems of labor and knowledge of the problems of capital. You will need to know intimately the geography and the natural and human resources

of the United States. You will need to know the current operations of federal and state and local governments. You will be called on for decisions in your line of duty where such knowledge will be of at least daily desirability -- daily help to you in coming to your own conclusions and carrying out your own assigned tasks.

Preliminary knowledge of (this) that kind you have but the best of it -- the most important part of it -- will come to you through the passing years.

It will come to you in two ways. First, by the experiences of your daily life. (and) Those experiences can be profitable to you or not in proportion to your ability to relate each experience to the whole field of experiences. Secondly, you will have the opportunity constantly to widen your knowledge by your own individual efforts. You can confine your field of thought to your professional work or you can widen your field of thought (it) to include a current interest in every current event(s).

Today you are graduating with the certification by the Government of the United States that you are gentlemen -- and the fact that you have been able to graduate at all from the Naval Academy (at all) proves that you are scholars. (Applause) In all of the years to come I want you and I expect you to prove that you have another qualification -- that you are also thorough-going, up-to-date, intelligent American citizens. (Applause)

(I congratulate you on your graduation. Your Commander-in-Chief is proud of you.)

And now we have a very pleasant surprise. A number of years ago our close neighbor on the north, the Government of our sister nation,

Canada, sent back to the United States flags which had been captured by Canadian and British soldiers in the War of 1812. And, shortly after that, the Government of the United States sent back to Canada the mace of the Canadian Parliament which American soldiers and sailors had taken during the War of 1812.

Today I am glad to say that we are honored by the presence of Sir Herbert Marler, the Canadian Minister to the United States. He is with us as another token of the very close bonds that link our two sister nations together.

And there is with us today another Canadian, the Mayor of a neighboring city, Saint John, New Brunswick. Mayor MacLaren has had in his family, for many years, a very precious relic, a relic connected with the first and most famous officer of the American Navy, John Paul Jones, whose body lies in the crypt (?) of our Chapel.

Now, I am going to ask Mayor MacLaren, of Saint John, to come forward and do his bit. (Applause)

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(Mayor MacLaren's address follows.)

MR. PRESIDENT:

It is my great privilege and high honour to stand here today in such illustrious company and complete the mission that has brought me from my home in Saint John, New Brunswick.

The object of that mission is to present to you, Sir, and through you to the great American Nation, the Quadrant used by that famed officer of your early life as a nation and as a power upon the

waters -- Commodore John Paul Jones, the Father of the American Navy.

In making this presentation, I am but performing a filial duty, for the Quadrant had rested for many years in the possession of my late Father, Mr. J. S. MacLaren, and it had been his wish that it should some day become the property of the American people.

Mr. President, I pay tribute to the gallantry that made John Paul Jones one of your outstanding heroic figures. It is fitting that his mortal remains should rest at this hallowed shrine of the American Navy. It is appropriate also that you should preserve those possessions of his that the years have permitted to remain. To add to those already in your keeping it is my great pleasure to place in your hands the Quadrant that so well served its gallant owner.

In closing, Mr. President, may I add a personal word. The people of the City of Saint John, of which I have the honour to be Mayor, and of the Province of New Brunswick are happy and proud to greet you as one of ourselves on the occasions when you visit your summer residence on Campobello Island. That these occasions may be many more in number is our earnest wish. (Applause)

(The Mayor held up the Quadrant.)

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(The President continued as follows:)

And here is the history that goes with this famous Quadrant.

(Applause)

On behalf of the Government and especially on behalf of all the graduates of the United States Naval Academy, I extend our very deep thanks to my neighbor, Mayor MacLaren, of Saint John, for this token that fits in so well in this historic spot.

And now there will be no more speaking, there will be something more important. Before you actually become Bachelors of Science, let me stress that in the days to come you do not place too much emphasis on the word "Bachelor." (Applause)

And so, I congratulate you on your graduation. Your Commander-in-Chief is proud of you. Good luck and Happy Voyage.

(Applause)

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Broadcast from the White House
June 24, 1938, 9.30 P.M.

MY FRIENDS:

I think the American public and the American newspapers are certainly creatures of habit. This is one of the warmest evenings that I have ever felt in Washington, D. C., and yet this talk tonight will be referred to as a fireside talk.

Our Government, happily, is a democracy. As part of the democratic process, your President is again taking an opportunity to report on the progress of national affairs, to report to the real rulers of this country -- the voting public.

The Seventy-Fifth Congress, elected in November, 1936, on a platform uncompromisingly liberal, has adjourned. Barring unforeseen events, there will be no session until the new Congress, to be elected in November, assembles next January.

On the one hand, the Seventy-Fifth Congress has left many things undone.

For example, it refused to provide more businesslike machinery for running the Executive Branch of the Government. The Congress also failed to meet my suggestion that it take the far-reaching steps necessary to put the railroads of the country back on their feet.

But, on the other hand, the Congress, striving to carry out the Platform on which most of them were elected, achieved more for the future good of the country than any Congress did between the end of the World War and the spring of 1933.

I mention tonight only the more important of these achievements.

(1) (It) The Congress improved still further our agricultural laws to give the farmer a fairer share of the national income, to preserve our soil, to provide an all-weather granary, to help the farm tenant towards independence, to find new uses for farm products, and to begin crop insurance.

(2) After many requests on my part the Congress passed a Fair Labor Standards Act, what we call the Wages and Hours Bill. That Act -- applying to products in interstate commerce -- ends child labor, sets a floor below wages and a ceiling over hours of labor.

Except perhaps for the Social Security Act, it is the most far-reaching, the most far-sighted program for the benefit of workers ever adopted here or in any other country. Without question it starts us toward a better standard of living and increases purchasing power to buy the products of farm and factory.

Do not let any calamity-howling executive with an income of \$1,000.00 a day, who has been turning his employees over to the Government relief rolls in order to preserve his company's undistributed reserves, tell you -- using his

stockholders' money to pay the postage for his personal opinions -- tell you that a wage of \$11.00 a week is going to have a disastrous effect on all American industry. Fortunately for business as a whole, and therefore for the Nation, that type of executive is a rarity with whom most business executives most heartily disagree.

(3) The Congress has provided a fact-finding Commission to find a path through the jungle of contradictory theories about the wise business practices -- to find the necessary facts for any intelligent legislation on monopoly, on price-fixing and on the relationship between big business and medium-sized business and little business. Different from a great part of the world, we in America persist in our belief in individual enterprise and in the profit motive; but we realize we must continually seek improved practices to insure the continuance of reasonable profits, together with scientific progress, individual initiative, opportunities for the little fellow, fair prices, decent wages and continuing employment.

(4) The Congress has coordinated the supervision of commercial aviation and air mail by establishing a new Civil Aeronautics Authority;

and it has placed all postmasters under the civil service for the first time in our national history.

(5) The Congress has set up the United States Housing (Administration) Authority to help finance large-scale slum clearance and provide low rent housing for the low income groups in our cities. And by improving the Federal Housing Act, the Congress has made it easier for private capital to build modest homes and low rental dwellings.

(6) The Congress has properly reduced taxes on small corporate enterprises, and has made it easier for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to make credit available to all business. I think the bankers of the country can fairly be expected to participate in loans where the Government, through the (Reconstruction Finance Corporation) R. F. C., offers to take a fair portion of the risk.

(7) So, too, the Congress has provided additional funds for the Works Progress Administration, the Public Works Administration, the Rural Electrification Administration, the Civilian Conservation Corps and other agencies, in order to take care of what we hope is a temporary additional number of unemployed at this time and

to encourage production of every kind by private enterprise.

All these things together I call our program for the national defense of our economic system. It is a program of balanced action -- of moving on all fronts at once in intelligent recognition that all of our economic problems, of every group, and of every section of the country are essentially one problem.

(8) Finally, because of increasing armaments in other nations and an international situation which is definitely disturbing to all of us, the Congress has authorized important additions to the national armed defense of our shores and our people.

On (another) one other important subject the net result of a struggle in the Congress has been an important victory for the people of the United States -- what might well be called a lost battle which won a war.

You will remember that a year and a half ago, nearly, on February 5, 1937, I sent a Message to the Congress dealing with the real need of Federal Court reforms of several kinds. In one way or another, during the sessions of this Congress, the ends -- I spoke of, the real objectives -- sought in (the) that Message, have been substantially attained.

The attitude of the Supreme Court towards constitutional questions is entirely changed. Its recent decisions are eloquent testimony of a willingness to collaborate with the two other branches of Government to make democracy work. The Government has

been granted the right to protect its interests in litigation between private parties (involving the constitutionality of Federal statutes) when the constitutionality of Federal statutes is involved, and to appeal directly to the Supreme Court in all cases involving the constitutionality of Federal statutes; and no single judge is any longer empowered to suspend a Federal statute on his sole judgment as to its constitutionality. A justice(s) of the Supreme Court may now retire at the age of seventy after ten years of service, and a substantial number of additional judgeships have been created in order to expedite the trial of cases, and finally greater flexibility has been added to the Federal judicial system by allowing judges to be assigned to congested districts.

Another indirect accomplishment of this Congress has been, I think, its response to the devotion of the American people to a course of sane and consistent liberalism. The Congress has understood that under modern conditions Government has a continuing responsibility to meet continuing problems, and that Government cannot take a holiday of a year, or a month, or even a day just because a few people are tired or frightened by the inescapable pace, fast pace, of this modern world in which we live.

Some of my opponents and some of my associates have considered that I have a mistakenly sentimental judgment as to the tenacity of purpose and the general level of intelligence of the American people.

I am still convinced that the American people, since 1932, continue to insist on two requisites of private enterprise, and the relationship of Government to it. The first is a complete

honesty, a complete honesty at the top in looking after the use of other people's money, and in apportioning and paying individual and corporate taxes (according to) in accordance with ability to pay. And the second is sincere respect for the need of all people who are at the bottom, all people at the bottom who need to get work -- and through work to get a (really) fair share of the good things of life, and a chance to save and a chance to rise.

After the election of 1936 I was told, and the Congress was told, by an increasing number of politically -- and worldly -- wise people that I should coast along, enjoy an easy Presidency for four years, and not take the Democratic platform too seriously. They told me that people were getting weary of reform through political effort and would no longer oppose that small minority which, in spite of its own disastrous leadership in 1929, is always eager to resume its control over the Government of the United States.

Never in our lifetime has such a concerted campaign of defeatism been thrown at the heads of the President and the Senators and Congressmen as in the case of this Seventy-Fifth Congress. Never before have we had so many Copperheads among us -- and you will remember that it was the Copperheads who, in the days of the Civil War, the War between the States, tried their best to make President Lincoln and his Congress give up the fight in the middle of the fight, to let the Nation remain split in two and return to peace -- yes, peace at any price.

This Congress has ended on the side of the people. My faith in the American people -- and their faith in themselves -- have been justified. I congratulate the Congress and the leadership

thereof and I congratulate the American people on their own staying power.

One word about our economic situation. It makes no difference to me whether you call it a recession or a depression. In 1932 the total national income of all the people in the country had reached the low point of thirty-eight billion dollars in that year. With each succeeding year it rose. Last year, 1937, it had risen to seventy billion dollars -- despite definitely worse business and agricultural prices in the last four months of last year. This year, 1938, while it is too early to do more than give (an) a mere estimate, we hope that the national income will not fall below sixty billion dollars, and that is a lot better than thirty-eight billion dollars. We remember also that banking and business and farming are not falling apart like the one-hoss shay, as they did in the terrible winter of 1932 (-) to 1933.

Last year mistakes were made by the leaders of private enterprise, by the leaders of labor and by the leaders of Government -- all three.

Last year the leaders of private enterprise pleaded for a sudden curtailment of public spending, and said they would take up the slack. But they made the mistake of increasing their inventories too fast and setting many of their prices too high for their goods to sell.

Some labor leaders goaded by decades of oppression of labor made the mistake of going too far. They were not wise in using methods which frightened many well-wishing people. They asked employers not only to bargain with them but to put up with

jurisdictional disputes at the same time.

Government too made mistakes -- mistakes of optimism in assuming that industry and labor would themselves make no mistakes -- and Government made a mistake of timing in not passing a farm bill or a wage and hour bill last year.

As a result of the lessons of all these mistakes we hope that in the future private enterprise -- capital and labor alike -- will operate more intelligently together, (and) operate in greater cooperation with their own Government than they have in the past. Such cooperation on the part of both of them will be very welcome to me. Certainly at this stage there should be a united stand on the part of both of them to resist wage cuts which would further reduce purchasing power.

This afternoon, only a few hours ago, I am told that a great steel company announced a reduction in prices with a view to stimulating business recovery. And I was told, and I am gratified to know, that this reduction in prices has involved no wage cut. Every encouragement ought to be given to industry which accepts the large volume and high wage policy.

If this is done throughout the Nation, it ought to result in conditions which will replace a great part of the Government spending which the failure of cooperation has made necessary this year.

You will remember that from March 4, 1933 down to date, not a single week has passed without a cry from the opposition, a small opposition, a cry "to do something, to say something, to restore confidence." There is a very articulate group of people in

this country, with plenty of ability to procure publicity for their views, who have consistently refused to cooperate with the mass of the people, whether things were going well or going badly, on the ground that they required more concessions to their point of view before they would admit having what they called "confidence."

These people demanded "restoration of confidence" when the banks were closed -- and demanding it again when the banks were re-opened.

They demanded "restoration of confidence" when hungry people were thronging (the) our streets -- and demanding it again when the hungry people were fed and put to work.

They demanded "restoration of confidence" when droughts hit the country -- and demanding it again now when our fields are laden with bounteous yields and excessive crops.

They demanded "restoration of confidence" last year when the automobile industry was running three shifts day and night, (and) turning out more cars than the country could buy -- and they are demanding it again this year when the industry is trying to get rid of an automobile surplus and has shut down its factories as a result.

But, my friends, it is my belief that many of these people who have been crying aloud for "confidence" are beginning today to realize that that hand has been overplayed, and that they are now willing to talk cooperation instead. It is my belief that the mass of the American people do have confidence in themselves -- have confidence in their ability, with the aid of Government, to solve their own problems.

It is because you are not satisfied, and I am not satisfied, with the progress that we have made in finally solving our business and agricultural and social problems that I believe the great majority of you want your own Government to keep on trying to solve them. In simple frankness and in simple honesty, I need all the help I can get -- and I see signs of getting more help in the future from many who have fought against progress with tooth and nail in the past.

And now following out this line of thought, I want to say a few words about the coming political primaries.

Fifty years ago party nominations were generally made in conventions -- a system typified in the public imagination by a little group in a smoke-filled room who made out the party slates.

The direct primary was invented to make the nominating process a more democratic one -- to give the party voters themselves a chance to pick their party candidates.

What I am going to say to you tonight does not relate to the primaries of any particular political party, but to matters of principle in all parties -- Democratic, Republican, Farmer-Labor, Progressive, Socialist or any other. Let that be clearly understood.

It is my hope that everybody affiliated with any party will vote in the primaries, and that every such voter will consider the fundamental principles for which his or her party is on record. That makes for a healthy choice between the candidates of the opposing parties on Election Day in November.

An election cannot give the country a firm sense of

direction if it has two or more national parties which merely have different names but are as alike in their principles and aims as peas in the same pod.

In the coming primaries in all parties, there will be many clashes between two schools of thought, generally classified as liberal and conservative. Roughly speaking, the liberal school of thought recognizes that the new conditions throughout the world call for new remedies.

Those of us in America who hold to this school of thought, insist that these new remedies can be adopted and successfully maintained in this country under our present form of government if we use government as an instrument of cooperation to provide these remedies. We believe that we can solve our problems through continuing effort, through democratic processes instead of Fascism or Communism. We are opposed to the kind of moratorium on reform which, in effect, (is) means reaction itself.

Be it clearly understood, however, that when I use the word "liberal," I mean the believer in progressive principles of democratic, representative government and not the wild man who, in effect, leans in the direction of Communism, for that is just as dangerous to us as Fascism itself.

The opposing or conservative school of thought, as a general proposition, does not recognize the need for Government itself to step in and take action to meet these new problems. It believes that individual initiative and private philanthropy will solve them -- that we ought to repeal many of the things we have done and go back, for (instance) example, to the old gold standard,

or stop all this business of old age pensions and unemployment insurance, or repeal the Securities and Exchange Act, or let monopolies thrive unchecked -- return, in effect, to the kind of Government that we had in the nineteen twenties.

Assuming the mental capacity of all the candidates, the important question which it seems to me the primary voter must ask is this: "To which of these general schools of thought does the candidate belong?"

As President of the United States, I am not asking the voters of the country to vote for Democrats next November as opposed to Republicans or members of any other party. Nor am I, as President, taking part in Democratic primaries.

As the head of the Democratic Party, however, charged with the responsibility of carrying out the definitely liberal declaration of principles set forth in the 1936 Democratic platform, I feel that I have every right to speak in those few instances where there may be a clear-cut issue between candidates for a Democratic nomination involving these principles, or involving a clear misuse of my own name.

Do not misunderstand me. I certainly would not indicate a preference in a State primary merely because a candidate, otherwise liberal in outlook, had conscientiously differed with me on any single issue. I should be far more concerned about the general attitude of a candidate towards present day problems and his own inward desire to get practical needs attended to in a practical way. (We) You and I all know that progress may be blocked by outspoken reactionaries, (and also) but we also know that progress can be

blocked by those who say "yes" to a progressive objective, but who always find some reason to oppose any special specific proposal to gain that objective. I call that type of candidate a "yes, but" fellow.

And I am concerned about the attitude of a candidate or his sponsors with respect to the rights of American citizens to assemble peaceably and to express publicly their views and opinions on important social and economic issues. There can be no constitutional democracy in any community which denies to the individual his freedom to speak and worship as he wishes. The American people will not be deceived by anyone who attempts to suppress individual liberty under the pretense of patriotism.

This being a free country with freedom of expression -- especially with freedom of the press, as is entirely proper -- there will be a lot of mean blows struck between now and Election Day. By "blows" I mean misrepresentation and personal attack and appeals to prejudice. It would be a lot better, of course, if campaigns everywhere could be waged with arguments instead of with blows.

I hope the liberal candidates will confine themselves to argument and not resort to blows. For in nine cases out of ten the speaker or the writer who, seeking to influence public opinion, descends from calm argument to unfair blows hurts himself more than his opponent.

The Chinese have a story on this -- a story based on three or four thousand years of civilization: Two Chinese coolies were arguing heatedly in the (midst) middle of a crowd in the street.

A stranger expressed surprise that no blows were being struck by them. His Chinese friend replied: "The man who strikes first admits that his ideas have given out."

I know that neither in the summer primaries nor in the November elections will the American voters fail to spot the candidate whose ideas have given out.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
At the Tercentenary Celebration
Fort Christina Park, Wilmington, Delaware
June 27, 1938, 10.00 A.M.

(It rained heavily during all of the ceremonies.)

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESSES:

This is a day of happy significance, happy significance to three nations. I welcome you, for you represent a true friendship under which we have lived from the earliest times unmarred by any rift, unbroken by any misunderstanding. So, you are thrice welcome to our shores. (Applause)

It is a matter of keen sorrow and regret to me that His Royal Highness the Crown Prince is unable to be at this historic spot today, but all of us pray that his recovery will be speedy and complete -- and I personally look forward to welcoming him and his family at Hyde Park or at Washington the end of this week. (Applause)

And I am grateful to Prince Berghel for the message that he has given to us from his distinguished grandfather and, when he returns to Stockholm, I hope that he will give to His Majesty King Gustavus V. my affectionate regards and the affectionate regards of all the American people. (Applause)

I accept with profound gratitude, in behalf of the people of the United States, this noble monument placed here through the generosity of the people of Sweden. I am confident that to generations yet unborn in Sweden and in the United States it will typify close association and continued good will between our two nations.

It is therefore with much pleasure and sincere apprecia-

tion that I turn over to the Governor of the State of Delaware this monument to hold in perpetuity in custody for the American people.

(Applause)

I am fortunate in having personal association with the Colony of New Sweden, for one of my ancestors, (William) Wilhelm Beekman, served as Vice (Director or) Governor of the Colony of New Sweden on the Delaware River from 1658 to 1663. And I am also proud that Swedish blood runs in my veins, (applause) for another of my ancestors, old Martinus Hoffman, was an early Swedish settler (of) in New Amsterdam.

My friend, the Governor of Delaware, holds office in direct official succession from the old Governors of New Sweden -- which reminds me of a recent rhyme descriptive of (the) that famous Swedish Governor, Johan Printz, that doughty pioneer who is said to have tipped the scales at more than three hundred pounds. (Laughter)

"No Gov. of Del.
Before or since
Has weighed as much
As Johan Printz." (Laughter)

Your Royal Highnesses, it is a privilege to make grateful acknowledgment of the outstanding contributions made to our national life by men and women of Swedish blood. To this spot came the pioneers. But in the succeeding centuries tens of thousands of others have come to our shores and added their strength and their fine qualities of good citizenship to the American nation. In every phase of our history, in every endeavor -- in commerce and industry, in science and art, in agriculture, in education and religion, in statecraft and government, they have well played their part.

Nor have we as Americans forgotten that after the War of the

Revolution, Sweden was the first neutral European power to negotiate a treaty of amity and trade with our young and struggling nation.

(Applause) All these things we Americans recall today with grateful hearts.

And to you who are here as representatives of the people of Finland, I extend an equally hearty welcome. Men and women from Finland through the generations have also contributed greatly to our American civilization. Finland, small in size but mighty in honor, (applause) occupies an especially warm place in the American heart.

Sweden, Finland and the United States will continue their service in the days to come in the cause of friendship and in the cause of peace among the nations of the world. (Applause, prolonged)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
On the Occasion of the Laying of the Cornerstone
Of the Federal Building, New York World's Fair Grounds
New York City, June 30, 1938, 2.00 P.M.

GOVERNOR LEHMAN, MAYOR LA GUARDIA, COMMISSIONER FLYNN, COMMISSIONER
WHALEN, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS:

The master mason certifies that the cornerstone is well and
truly laid and, in turn, I have assured him that I hold a union card.
(Laughter)

I am glad that Mr. Whalen has spoken of his visits to Wash-
ington. He has never left Washington empty-handed. He is the most
persuasive salesman in all the world. (Laughter)

On this occasion we formally commence the construction of
the Building of the Government of the United States at the New York
World's Fair of 1939. I gladly express the appreciation of that Gov-
ernment to the representatives of (so many) sixty-two other nations
who have graciously decided to take part in the (New York World's)
Fair (of 1939).

Already the plans for their participation are drawn and
to them I want to stress my hope that many of their countrymen will
(visit) come to the Fair next year. To (them also) those countrymen
of theirs a hearty welcome will be given. I emphasize this on the
ground of reciprocity, because for many years the visiting balance
has been somewhat uneven. Far more Americans have been traveling
to the shores of other continents, especially Europe, than visitors
from the other nations to our shores. I encourage all of my com-
patriots to learn all that they can at first hand about other
nations and to make friends there, but I wish that more of the

citizens of other nations (could) would visit us and make friends here. (Applause)

All of us realize, of course, that the affairs of many parts of the world are, to put it politely, somewhat distraught at this time. Such a condition necessarily accompanies wars and rumors of wars.

We in this Hemisphere are happily removed, in large measure, both from fear and from the controversies which breed it. In a larger sense, however, we cannot remain unconcerned, especially because it is our fortune to enjoy friendship and good relations with all nations.

You who represent the other nations here today have heard of what is known as the policy of the Good Neighbor. To that policy we have steadily adhered, and it may well be said that it is the definite policy of all the American Republics. (Applause)

It is a policy which can never be merely unilateral. In stressing it the American Republics appreciate, I am confident, that it is a bilateral, (and) a multilateral policy and that the fair dealing which it implies must be reciprocated.

It is a policy which was not in its inception, or subsequently, limited to one hemisphere. It has proven so successful in the Western Hemisphere that the American Republics believe that it could succeed in all the rest of the world if the spirit which lies behind it were better understood and more actively striven for in the other parts of the world. (Applause)

Furthermore, the policy of the Good Neighbor is, as we know, not limited to those problems of international relations which may result in war. We are against war and have agreed among

ourselves quietly to discuss difficulties in such a way that the possibility of war has become remote. But the policy involves also matters of trade and matters affecting the interchange of culture between nations.

In these modern days when so many new economic and social problems call for the revision of many old economic and social tenets, closer personal contacts are an essential, an absolute essential, to the well-being of nations of the world.

That is why the New York World's Fair and the San Francisco Fair are well-timed for 1939. They will encourage that interchange of thought, of culture, and of trade which (are) is so vital today. They will give to the opposite ends of our country an opportunity to see the exhibits and the visitors from all the rest of the world -- and they will give to those visitors a splendid chance to see something of the length and breadth of the United States.

All of us who are here today are looking forward to April 1939, when this great Exposition will be formally opened, and although the plans were made some time ago, I do not think that it has yet been announced that the United States Fleet this coming winter will come to the Atlantic Ocean and will be present at the opening of the World's Fair. Yes, we are looking forward to that day, a day of meeting and of greeting. It has been well said that you cannot hate a man you know. Therefore, this Exposition will stand as a symbol of world peace for, without doubt, it is a useful advance on the patient road to peace that America treads. (Applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Before the Meeting of the National Education Association
World's Fair Grounds, New York, N.Y.
June 30, 1938, 3.00 P.M.

(Mrs. Roosevelt, who introduced the President, made the following introductory remarks:)

"And now it is the privilege of a presiding officer to make speeches in introducing each speaker. But, we are late today, and so I am not going to avail myself of that privilege. Ladies and gentlemen, I present to you The President of the United States."
(Laughter - applause)

The President's Address:

DR. WOODRUFF, MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION:

I am glad to come here today to this meeting, and I am especially happy that, I think for the first time in my life, I was introduced by my wife. (Laughter - applause)

If you have followed the arguments of financial experts over the last few years, you have guessed that they have as many theories of keeping books as there are ends to serve. They do not always agree on the definition of capital, and they even disagree on what is an asset and what is a liability. And that is true both in private business and in Government.

But whatever differences bookkeepers and financiers may have over the rules of their professions, no man or woman of common sense can forget, or allow Government to forget, what are the true and ultimate assets and liabilities of a nation.

The only real capital of a nation is its natural resources

and its human beings. So long as we take care of and make the most of both of them, we shall survive as a strong nation, a successful nation and a progressive nation -- whether or not the bookkeepers say other kinds of budgets are from time to time out of balance.

This capital structure -- natural resources and human beings -- has to be maintained at all times. The plant has to be kept up and new capital put in year by year to meet increasing needs. If we skimp on that capital, if we exhaust our natural resources and weaken the capacity of our human beings, then we shall go the way of all weak nations.

Before we can think straight as a (nation) people, we have to consider -- in addition to the old kind -- a new kind of government balance sheet -- a long-range sheet which shows survival values for our population and for our democratic way of living, balanced against what we have paid for them. Judged by that test -- which is history's test -- I venture to say that the long-range budget of the present administration of our Government has been in the black and not in the red. (Applause)

For many years I, like you, have been a pedagogue -- of course some people who are not over strong on spelling will get that word mixed with the word "demagogue" (laughter) and, as a pedagogue, I have been striving to inculcate in the youth of America a greater knowledge of and interest in the problems which, with such force, strike the whole world in the face today. In these recent years we have taught the prudent husbandry of our national estate -- our rivers, our soil, our forests, our phosphates, our oils, our minerals and our wild life. Along these lines we have

made mighty strides -- we have come further than in all the years before in knowledge of how to grapple with the problems of maintaining the estate that our forefathers handed down to us.

With the dissemination of this knowledge, we have taken action. Few men begrudge what that action has cost, because it has been based on operations physically large, (and) spectacular, dramatic, (and) easy to see. I am thankful that I live in an age of building, for it is far easier to dramatize to (one's) yourself the importance of the object if you see it while it is going up, than if you come along later and see it only in its completed stage. And so we are fortunate today in seeing the New York World's Fair of 1939 in the construction stage. This glimpse will make it mean more to us when we come back and see it completed next year.

The other half of the preservation of our national capital is likewise a problem of husbandry -- the conserving of health, energy, skill and morale of our population, and especially of that part of our population which will be the America of tomorrow.

This also is a problem of the fullest use (and) the fullest development of our precious resources of ability which cannot be stored and will be lost if they remain unused. No nation can meet this changing world unless its people, individually and collectively, grow in ability to understand (and) ability to handle the new knowledge as applied to increasingly intricate human relationships. And that is why the teachers of America are the ultimate guardians of the human capital of America, the assets which must be made to pay social dividends if democracy is to survive.

We have believed wholeheartedly in investing the money

of (all) the people, the money of all the people, (on) in the education of all the people. That conviction, backed (up) by taxes and backed by dollars, is no accident, for it is the logical application of our faith in democracy.

Man's present day control of the affairs of nature is the very direct result of investment in education. And the democratization of education has made it possible for outstanding ability, which would otherwise be completely lost, to make its outstanding contribution to the common weal. So we cannot afford to overlook any source of human raw material. Genius flowers in most unexpected places; "It is the impetus of the undistinguished host that hurls forth a Diomed or a Hector." (Applause)

No government can create the human touch (and) the human self-sacrifice which the individual teacher gives to the process of education. But what Government can do is to provide financial support and to protect from interference the freedom to learn. (Applause)

No one wants the Federal Government to subsidize education any more than is absolutely necessary. It has been and (will be) I take it it will continue to be the traditional policy of the United States to leave the actual management of schools and their curricula to state and local control. (Applause)

But we know that in many places local government unfortunately cannot adequately finance either the freedom or the facilities to learn. And there the Federal Government can properly supplement local resources.

Here is where the whole problem of education ties in the definitely with natural resources (and) of the country, ties in with

the economic picture of the individual community or state. We all know that the best of schools are, in most cases, located in those communities which can afford to spend the most money on them -- the most money for adequate teachers' salaries, for modern buildings and (for) modern equipment of all kinds. And we know too that the weakest educational link in (the) our national system lies in those communities which have the lowest taxable values and, therefore, the smallest per capita tax receipts and, therefore, the lowest teachers' salaries and most inadequate buildings and equipment. We do not blame these latter communities. They want better educational facilities, but simply have not enough money to pay the cost.

There is probably a wider divergence today in the standard of education between the richest communities and the poorest communities than there was (one hundred years) a century ago; and it is, therefore, our immediate task to seek to close that gap -- (applause) not to close it in any way by decreasing the facilities of the richer communities but by extending aid to those less fortunate. We all know that if we do not close this gap it will continue to widen, for the best brains in the poorer communities will either have no chance to develop or will migrate to those places where their ability will stand a better chance.

To continue the parallel between natural and human resources, it is well to remember that our poorest communities exist where the land is most greatly eroded, where farming does not pay, where industries have moved out, where flood and drought have done their work, where transportation facilities are of the poorest and where cheap electricity is unavailable for the home.

All (of) this leads me to ask you not to demand that the Federal Government provide financial assistance to all communities. Our aid for many reasons, financial and otherwise, must be confined to lifting the level at the bottom rather than to giving assistance at the top. Today we cannot do both, and we must therefore confine ourselves to the greater need.

In line with this policy, the Federal Government during the (past) last five years has given relatively (far) more assistance and aid to the poorer communities than to the rich. We have done it through direct relief and through work relief, through the Resettlement Administration and the Farm Security (Administration) program, the National Youth Administration, and through the (rehabilitation) rehabilitating of flooded or stranded or dust-blown areas. We have provided schoolhouses, colleges, libraries, educational equipment and sanitation in every state (of) in the Union. And I include "sanitation" because it has always seemed to me that good health and good education must go hand in hand. (Applause) We have placed many millions of dollars in the field of adult education through the Works Progress Administration and, here again, most of the money has been expended in the poorer communities of the land.

I have spoken of the twin interlocking assets of national and human resources and of the need of developing them hand in hand. But with this goes the equally important and the equally difficult problem of keeping education intellectually free. (Applause) (For) Freedom to learn is the first necessity of guaranteeing that man himself shall be self-reliant enough to be free.

Such things did not need as much emphasis a generation ago;

but when the clock of civilization can be turned back by burning libraries, by exiling scientists, artists, musicians, writers and teachers, by dispersing universities, and by censoring news and literature and art, an added burden is placed upon those countries where the torch of free thought and free learning still burns bright. (Prolonged applause)

If the fires of freedom and civil liberties burn low in other lands, they must be made brighter in our own.

If in other lands the press and books and literature of all kinds are (is) censored, we must redouble our efforts here to keep (it) them free.

If in other lands the eternal truths of the past are threatened by intolerance, we must provide a safe place here for their perpetuation.

Yes, there may be times when men and women in the turmoil of change lose touch with the civilized gains of centuries of education: but the gains of education are never really lost. Books may be burned and cities sacked, but truth, like the yearning for freedom, lives in the hearts of humble men and women. The ultimate victory of tomorrow is with democracy, and through democracy with education, for no people in all the world can be kept eternally ignorant or eternally enslaved. (Applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
At the Dedication of the Eternal Light Peace Memorial
Gettysburg Battlefield, Gettysburg, Pennsylvania
Sunday, July 3, 1938, 6.45 P.M.

GOVERNOR EARLE, VETERANS OF THE BLUE AND THE GRAY:

On behalf of the people of the United States I accept
this monument in the spirit of brotherhood and peace.

Immortal deeds and immortal words have created here at
Gettysburg a shrine of American patriotism. We are encompassed
by "The last full measure of devotion" of many men and by the
words in which Abraham Lincoln expressed the simple faith for which
they died.

It seldom helps to wonder how a statesman of one genera-
tion would surmount the crisis of another. For a statesman deals
with concrete difficulties -- with things which must be done from
day to day. Not often can he frame conscious patterns for the far
off future.

But the fullness of the stature of Lincoln's nature and
the fundamental conflict which events forced upon his Presidency
invite us ever to turn to him for help.

For the issue which he restated (on this spot) here at
Gettysburg seventy-five years ago will be the continuing issue
before this Nation so long as we cling to the purposes for which
(it) the Nation was founded -- to preserve under the changing con-
ditions of each generation a people's government for the people's
good.

The task assumes different shapes at different times.
Sometimes the threat to popular government comes from political

interests, sometimes from economic interests, sometimes we have to beat off all of them together.

But the challenge is always the same -- whether each generation facing its own circumstances can summon the practical devotion to attain and to retain that greatest good for the greatest number which this government of the people was created to ensure.

Lincoln spoke in solace for all who fought upon this field; and the years have laid their balm upon its wounds. Men who wore the Blue and men who wore the Gray are here together, a fragment spared by time. They are brought here by the memories of old divided loyalties, but they meet here in united loyalty to a united cause which the unfolding years have made it easier to see.

All of them we honor, not asking under which Flag they fought then -- thankful that they stand together under one Flag now.
(Applause)

Lincoln was commander-in-chief in this old battle; he wanted above all things to be commander-in-chief of the new peace. He understood that battle there must be; that when a challenge to constituted government is thrown down, the people must in self-defense take it up; that the fight must be fought through to a decision so clear that it is accepted as being beyond recall.

But Lincoln also understood that after such a decision, a democracy should seek peace through a new unity. For a democracy can keep alive only if the settlement of old difficulties clears the ground and transfers energies to face new responsibilities. Never can it have as much ability and as much purpose as it needs in that striving; the end of battle does not end the infinity of those needs.

That is why Lincoln -- commander of a people as well as of an army -- asked that his battle end "with malice toward none, with charity for all."

To the hurt of those who came after him, Lincoln's plea was long denied. A generation passed before the new unity became accepted fact.

And in later years new needs arose, and with them new tasks, worldwide in their perplexities, in their bitterness and in their modes of strife. Here in our land we give thanks that, avoiding war, we seek our ends through the peaceful processes of popular government under the Constitution. (Applause)

But it is another conflict, a conflict as fundamental as Lincoln's, fought not with (glint of) steel, but with appeals to reason and justice on a thousand fronts -- seeking to save for our common country opportunity and security for citizens in a free society. (Applause)

We are near to winning this battle. In its winning and through the years may we live by the wisdom and the humanity of the heart of Abraham Lincoln. (Prolonged applause)

(At the conclusion of the President's address a soldier of the South and a soldier of the North, using the rays of the sun, lit a flame designed to burn eternally atop the Peace Memorial.)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Marietta, Ohio
July 8, 1938, 9.30 A.M.

GOVERNOR DAVEY, SENATOR BULKLEY, CHAIRMAN WHITE AND YOU, THE PEOPLE
OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY:

A long time ago in Washington, two old friends of mine
came to the White House, Bob Bulkley and Bob Seacrest, to ask me to
come to Marietta in 1938. It seemed a long way off, but I promised
them I would come if I possibly could. So here I am.

Long before that famous year of 1788 there were white men
here, white men, to use a Biblical phrase, "spying out this land of
Canaan." An intrepid outpost breed they were -- the scouts and the
skirmishers of the great American migration. The sight of smoke from
a neighbor's chimney(s) might have worried them a great deal. But the
Indians and the redcoats did not.

Long before 1788, at Kaskaskia and Vincennes, with scant
help from the Seaboard, they had held their beloved wilderness for
themselves -- and for us -- held it with their own bare hands and
their own long rifles. But their symbol is Vincennes, not Marietta.

Here, with all honor to (the) those scouts and (the) skir-
mishers, we are (celebrate) celebrating the coming of a different
type of men and women -- the first battalions of that organized army
of occupation which transplanted from (over) across the Alleghenies
whole little civilizations that took root and grew. They were giv-
ing expression to a genius for organized colonization, carefully
planned and ordered under law.

The men who came here before 1788 came as Lief Erickson's
men did to Vineland, in a spirit all of adventure. But the men and

women of the Ohio Company who came to Marietta came rather like the men and the women of the Massachusetts Bay (Company) Colony to Boston, an organized society, unafraid to meet temporary adventure, but serious in seeking permanent security for men and women and children and homes. Many of them were destined to push on; but most of them came here intending to stay. (Such) People like that may not be the first to conquer the earth, but they will always be the last to possess (it) the earth.

Right behind them, the men and women who established Marietta one hundred and fifty years ago, moved that instrument of law and order and cooperation -- the instrument of government. A representative of the National Government entered Marietta to administer the Northwest Territory under the famous Northwest Ordinance. And what we are celebrating today is this establishment of the first Civil Government west of the original thirteen states.

Three provisions of (the Northwest) that Ordinance I always like to remember.

It provided that "no person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship or for religious sentiment in the said territory."

And it provided that "religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and means of education shall forever be encouraged."

And it provided, finally, for the perpetual prohibition of slavery in the Territory.

Free, educated, God-fearing men and women -- that is what the thirteen states hoped that the new West would exemplify.

(It) And the new West has well fulfilled that hope.

Every generation meets substantially the same problems under its own different set of circumstances. Anyone speculating on our great migration westward is struck (with) by the human parallel between the driving force behind that migration and the driving force behind the great social exploration that we are carrying on today.

Most of the people who went out to Ohio (in 1788) in the early days and who followed wave on wave for another hundred years went to improve their economic lot. In other words, they were following the same yearning for security (which) that is driving us forward today.

At the end of the wagon ruts there was something worth the physical risks. The standard of life in a log cabin amid fields still blackened with half-burned stumps was not high, but it was fairly certain. A family, or at most a township, could be a whole self-(sufficing) satisfying, self-sufficient economic system -- plenty of food to eat if a man would but reach out and shoot it or cultivate it; plenty of warm clothes if the women of the family were willing to spin; always a tight roof over the family's head if the little community would respond to the call for a roof-raising.

Whatever he used was a man's own; it belonged to him; he had the solid joy of possession -- of owning his home and owning his own means of livelihood. And if things did not pan out there was always an infinite self-sufficiency beckoning further westward -- to new land, new game, new opportunity.

Under such conditions there was so much to get done (which)

that men could not get done alone, that the frontiersmen naturally reached out -- to Government -- as their greatest single instrument of cooperative self-help with the aid of which they could get things done. To them the use of Government was but another form of the co-operation of good neighbors.

Government was an indispensable instrument of their daily lives, of the security of their women and (their) children, (and) of their homes and (their) opportunities. They looked on Government not as a thing apart -- as a power over (our) people. They regarded (it) Government as a power of the people, as a democratic expression of organized self-help like a frontier husking bee, only on a bigger scale.

There were worried legalists back in the Seaboard towns who were sure it was unconstitutional for the Federal Government to help (to) put roads and (railroads) railways and canals through these new territories -- who were sure that the Nation would never get back the money that it was plowing into development of the natural and human resources of the Northwest Territory.

But Abraham Lincoln, who incarnated the spirit of the people who were actually living in the states making up the Northwest Territory, summed up their attitude when he said: "The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all, or cannot do so well, for themselves, in their separate and individual capacities."

And so today under new conditions, as a whole nation, the American people, the original thirteen states and all the West and

South that has grown out of them, (is) they are on a mental migration, dissatisfied with old conditions, seeking like the little band that came to Marietta, seeking to create new conditions -- of security. And again the people see an ally in their own Government.

Many a man does not own his cabin any more; or the house or the flat that he lives in. His possessions may be some furniture and perhaps (are) a bank deposit.

Scarcely any man can call his neighbors (to raise his roof any more) to help him build his home any more. Today he pays a contractor cash and has to have mortgage financing to find the cash. And if that financing is of the wrong kind or goes bad -- he may need help to save his home from foreclosure.

Once upon a time old age was safe because there was always something useful (which) that men and women, no matter how old, (might) could do to earn an honorable maintenance. That time is gone; and some new kind of organized old-age insurance has to be provided.

In these perplexities, what happens? The individual turns, as he has always turned, to the collective security of the willingness of his fellows to cooperate through the use of Government to help him and each other. The spirit of the frontier husking bee is found today in carefully-drafted statutes -- statutes insuring bank deposits; statutes providing mortgage money for homes through the (F.H.A.) Federal Housing Administration; statutes providing help through (H.O.L.C.) the Home Owners' Loan Corporation for those in danger of foreclosure. The cavalry captain of the old days, who protected the log cabins of the Northwest is now supplanted by legislators, men like Senator Bulkley, toiling over the drafting of such

statutes and over the efficiency of Government machinery to administer them so that such protection and help of Government can be extended to the full.

Yes, on a thousand fronts Government -- State Government, (and) Municipal Government, County Government, as well as Federal-- is playing the same role of the insurer of security for the average man, woman and child that the Army detachments played in the early days of the old Northwest Territory. When you think it through, at the bottom of most of the great protective statutes of today (are) there is the fact that in essence they are mutual insurance companies, and our recent legislation is not a departure from but a return to the healthy practices of mutual self-help of the early settlers of the Northwest.

Let us not be afraid to help each other -- let us never forget that Government is ourselves and not an alien power over us. The ultimate rulers of our democracy are not a President, (and) not Senators and Congressmen and Government officials. (but the voters of this country) The ultimate rulers of our democracy are the voters of the country itself.

I believe that the American people, not afraid of their own capacity to choose forward-looking representatives to run their Government, want the same cooperative security and that they have the same courage to achieve it, in 1938 as in 1788. (Applause) And I am sure that they know that we will always have a frontier -- a frontier of social problems and economic problems -- and that we must always move in to bring law and order to (it) the solution of those problems. In that confidence -- in that confidence I do not think I have to tell

you that I am pushing on. And I am sure (you) that the people of
the Nation will push on with me. (Prolonged applause)

And now I understand that somebody is going to pull a
string and I hereby dedicate this great monument commemorating one
hundred and fifty years of Americanism.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Covington, Kentucky
July 8, 1938, 2.30 P.M.

(Former Congressman John Young Brown introduced Senator Barkley who, in turn, presented the President.)

SENATOR BARKLEY, GOVERNOR CHANDLER, MY FRIENDS OF KENTUCKY:

I am glad to be back in Kentucky. (Applause)

Some Republicans have suggested that I have come to Kentucky on a political mission. (Laughter, applause) But I assure you the only reason is that I cannot get to Oklahoma without crossing Kentucky.

Every time that I have come into (the) this State in the past few years, I have not been able to forget a certain trip which I made across a large part of Kentucky in the early autumn of 1932 -- six years ago, though it seems a whole lot longer. And on that occasion, though I had been traveling in many states, what I saw in that day in Kentucky stirred me more deeply than I had ever been stirred in my life -- except perhaps in the days during the World War when I saw the misery and the suffering on the fields of France.

On my (Kentucky) visit to Kentucky in 1932 my train moved slowly from Covington to Louisville and thence in a southeasterly direction, through villages and farming sections and mining districts. And as we stopped at small stations the crowds congregated. Hunger, stark hunger, stared out at me from the faces of men and women and little children. There was scarcely a new dress or a new suit of clothes in the crowd. It was a chill day, very different from this day, and for the actual want of clothes people stood there shivering.

They were looking up at two men. One of them was a candi-

date for the Presidency, (who was) going about the country telling people that the national situation was grave -- so (grave) deeply serious that the time for promises had come to an end and the time for action was at hand.

The other man on that train platform was a Senator from Kentucky -- a man of experience in the affairs of his State and of (the) his Nation -- a man who had fought valiantly as a member of the then Democratic minority in Washington, voting against doing nothing, (and) voting in favor of action to meet growing needs of the Nation.

On that day's trip, I know that Senator Barkley and I were thinking little in terms of partisan politics. We were thinking in terms of American needs -- not just Kentucky's needs but the deepseated wants that had come into the lives of the people of every state, had come into the lives of millions of people scattered throughout (every state in) the Nation. Yes, tears were in our eyes that day. We were affected not alone by misery but by the fortitude we saw, because we realized that these people still had faith -- faith in the institutions of the United States -- faith in the Government of the United States -- faith that (their Government would, before it was too late, come through) in that Government, eventually, before it was too late, Government would come through to help.

On that trip, too, between stops, your Senator and I talked of many things. We talked of economic conditions and social conditions -- of the thousands of things that had to be done, had to be done in the East, and in the Middle West, and in the border states, and in the South and in the Far West if America as a Nation was to

carry on.

I shall never forget that day because I saw things with my own eyes that made me think more deeply about the fundamentals of life than I had ever thought before, and because I had an opportunity that day to talk of those things with a great American who had been on the "firing line" for years and had striven to avert the disaster and was willing and able to give practical advice for the cure of it.

I will not recount the progress of the intervening years. You know the story of them as well as I do. But I wish that I could follow that same railroad route today. I wish that I could look into the faces of the same men and women and children that I saw then. And if I could, (do it) I know very well that the facts of today would give (the) lie to those who seek (the) to overthrow (of) this Administration by telling you, as they have been telling you for six months or more, that conditions in the United States today can be compared with the conditions of 1932. (Applause) You and I (applause) yes, you and I have the intelligence and the firsthand knowledge to laugh at that kind of political ballyhoo. (Applause)

I will not go into the story of (these) those six years. You know today that your bank deposits are safe; that the problem of unemployment is far less serious; that more wheels of industry are turning; that the farmers are better off in a hundred ways; and most important of all, that (all of) our people are not half-clothed or half-starving.

But I do want to speak to you briefly of one part of the

broad policy of your Government during these six years -- only a part, mind you, but an essential part of a very big whole.

In (the) that winter of 1932 - (19)33, because of inaction on the part of the Federal Government, thousands of communities everywhere and many of the states (of the Nation) were facing bankruptcy. And as Governor of New York for four years, because I could get no assistance from Washington, I had been compelled, with the approval of my State Legislature, a legislature which, by the way, was Republican in both its branches, I was compelled to care for the human needs of tens of thousands of the citizens of that State. Because I could get no assistance from Washington, I was compelled to create state deficits -- to put the State Treasury into the "red".
(--)
Why? In order to feed the destitute, (and) to give work to the unemployed; (in order) to care for the thousands of people who had become dependent on the State for food and shelter. And, when I left Albany, the deficit of the State of New York was nearly a hundred million dollars.

And, if I were to go back there under similar circumstances, I would do the same thing I did then for the sake of human lives. (Applause)

That was the experience of most states. They could get no help from the National Government to meet national problems. They were in debt and their borrowing capacity was close to an end. That was also the experience of hundreds of cities and counties. Taxes were not being paid to them, and if they had had to liquidate they would have been insolvent.

Your Federal Government -- the one that started on March 4,

1933 (applause) -- I might say this Federal Government of yours -- (applause) they recognized this situation and promptly sought to restore the credit and the finances of the states, the cities and the counties. We put a national shoulder under a national problem(s). We undertook a great program of work -- work relief paid for by the Federal Government, thus helping every community to do a thousand necessary jobs which individual communities could not afford to do by themselves -- public works on a matching basis thus enabling states and cities and school districts and counties to build (buildings and) bridges and buildings and roads and flood control works which they could not afford to do alone; work which took the support of men, women and children off the backs of local communities.

And so, in the six years that have intervened, many of our states, because of that help from the National Government have got back into the "black" again -- my own State of New York -- and your own State of Kentucky among them. (Applause) And I am heartily glad of it. Your Governor, my Governor, and a good many other Governors of other states are able to go before their people and announce proudly that they have balanced their budgets. More power to their arms! (Applause)

And I am happy and proud of how much the Federal Government has been able to help Kentucky and the other states. (Applause) It would surprise many people to know how much that help has been. Take Kentucky for (instance) example:

1 - In these states in these six years, the Federal Government has allotted to Kentucky in new kinds of Federal expenditures for relief, work relief, public works, the education of youth, farm

rehabilitation and crop benefits -- approximately \$280,000,000.

(Applause)

2 - In these six years the Federal Government has spent in the more traditional forms of Federal expenditure, such as matching funds for state highways on a fifty-fifty basis, aid to the state for the building of state institutions, flood control and river work, Federal public buildings and the maintenance of (the regular) agricultural services -- at least another fifty million dollars.

3 - In these six years Federal loans, through the R. F. C., the H. O. L. C., the Farm Credit Administration and other lending agencies -- by extending the due date of obligations, by scaling the interest on obligations, giving financial institutions and borrowers alike a chance to reorganize and turn around -- have averted from the taxable wealth and the taxable citizens of Kentucky the cost of bearing the liquidation of the 1929-33 depression. That, I conservatively estimate, has saved the financial resources of (the State of) Kentucky several hundred millions of dollars. (Applause)

4 - And finally, in these six years the prompt willingness of the Federal Government to take care of flood damage, to begin the prevention of soil erosion, to invest in the protection of Kentucky's natural capital and property while Kentucky had to save on those items, all that is worth (more) incalculable millions of dollars.

Add it all (that) up when next you wonder why the National Government hasn't balanced its budget over the last six years.

If the Federal Government, your Government, had not done at least some of these things, the state governments would probably not have done them at all out of their own resources, because they could not. (Applause) By assistance like this, not only in Kentucky, but in other states, state treasuries have been enabled to get out of the "red" and into the "black" --and that holds true for the credit of almost every municipality and town and school district and county throughout the (country) Union.

It has taken courage for the Federal Government to go into the "red" to help state and local governments, to help them get out of the "red" or stay out of the "red." But, my friends, nationally it has been worth it.

Your Governor deserves due credit for getting this State on a sound financial basis. He never came to Washington and went away empty-handed. (Applause) And I say to him, and I am glad he is here today, and I say to you that I have considered him and do consider him a friend of mine and that I think he has done a good job as the Chief Executive of his State. (Applause)

At the same time, I am glad that Senator Barkley is here too. (Applause) I have no hesitation in saying certain things in the presence of Alben Barkley.

I read something in the papers. I read in the papers that you are having a primary campaign in Kentucky, (laughter) a primary campaign for the choice of the Democratic candidate for the United States Senate. Both candidates I know. Both (candidates) are men of ability. Both are representative Kentuckians.

I want to make it definite and clear to you that I am not

interfering in any shape, manner or form in the primary campaign in Kentucky. I do not (reside in this State) live here -- you do. (You have the absolute right to vote for any candidate in accordance with the dictates of your conscience. No outside source ought to dragoon you.)

Nevertheless, nevertheless I have a clear right to tell you certain facts relating to the National Government, (and) to national problems, facts which I believe to be true. The people of Kentucky have a vital part, (and) a vital stake in these national facts and problems. As one of the great states of the Union, Kentucky is interested in national affairs and is therefore entitled to know every angle of national affairs.

At this stage of world and domestic issues, a serious time for the people of America, a serious time for the people of the whole world, leadership is important to the people of the (whole country) United States as well as to the people of (each state) the individual states.

We in this country operate principally through what we call the party system. We operate thus because we believe that party responsibility eliminates a large part of the confusion which would result (from a) if we had a complete lack of party leadership. That leadership, as you will readily realize, is necessary not only in the Executive branch of the (Federal) National Government but equally necessary in the two Houses of the Congress of the Federal Government.

In the upper House, (the Senate,) the leadership of the majority party in the Senate has been entrusted by the votes of his

colleagues to Senator Barkley, the senior Senator from Kentucky. (Applause) I do not need to tell you of his long experience in all of our national problems. By virtue of that experience (and of) by virtue of his ability, (and) by virtue of his seniority, he serves on major committees, (which) committees that deal with major legislation, and in addition to this, speaks with the voice of the majority leader of the Democratic Party in the Senate of the United States.

His outlook on affairs of Government is a liberal outlook. He has taken a major part in shaping not only the legislation but the actual policies of (these) the past six years.

I have no doubt whatsoever that Governor Chandler would make a good Senator from Kentucky (applause, boos) -- but I think (he) that my friend, the Governor, would be the first to acknowledge that as a very junior member of the United States Senate, it would take him many, many years to match the national knowledge, the experience and the acknowledged leadership in the affairs of (our) the Nation of that son of Kentucky, of whom the whole Nation is proud, Alben Barkley. (Applause)

One word more. You have heard charges and the country has heard charges, charges and counter charges of the use of political influence exerted on primary voters. Charges have been bandied back and forth that employees of the Federal Government and workers on relief are being directed how to vote. And we have all heard charges that state employees, people on the state payroll and their friends are being directed how to vote. Let me assure you that it is contrary, contrary to direct and forceful orders from Washington for any Federal Government employee to tell those under

then how to vote and I trust that the same rule applies to those who work for or under the State of Kentucky. (Applause)

Personally, I am not greatly disturbed by these stories because I have an old-fashioned idea, an old-fashioned faith, that the voters of Kentucky, no matter whom they employ or by whom they are employed, are going to vote their own personal convictions on Primary Day. And that is as it should be. (Applause)

I am glad to come to this beautiful spot today. I know about Latonia by reading the sporting pages of the papers. You live on a great river, the Ohio. And, by the way, the first steamboat (which) that ever navigated this river was built and run by old Nicholas Roosevelt, my great grandfather's cousin. (Applause) Slowly but surely we, the new generation, are getting the old river under control, and I am equally certain that the people of America are slowly but surely getting their social and economic problems under control too. Let us keep up the good work. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT

Louisville, Kentucky

July 8th, 1938.

(Mayor Scholtz introduced the President.)

Mr. Mayor, Senator Barkley, friends of Louisville:

This is the first chance I have had to come to Louisville since the great flood of last year.

First of all, I want to congratulate you and also the citizens of other communities who suffered so greatly from that flood.

I want to thank you for the firm courage and the fine spirit with which you met that disaster.

Your Mayor told me a few minutes ago that every cloud seems to have its silver lining. Very certainly, in the case of Louisville, the flood reestablished human nature and made you all better neighbors to each other.

Not only in the crisis of a great flood but also in the long process of rebuilding, you have exemplified the spirit of self-help and cooperation between citizens and with the agencies of government.

I want to tell you in a very few words of another gain from that disaster. When I went to Washington, nearly six years ago, I found there were many different agencies of the Government concerned with disasters, and each one of them worked hard in its own line of work. But, there was no co-ordination between them.

That flood last year on the Ohio and the Mississippi gave me an opportunity to test out the new machinery I had created to meet national disasters. Last year, when the rain began to fall on the furthest creeks, in the upper reaches of the upper tributaries of the Ohio, all of the Federal agencies, working with the State agencies, were able to meet in co-operative efforts to combat the flood as it worked its way down toward the sea.

Through that leadership of coordination and especially through the leadership of a great American who unfortunately has passed on -- Admiral Cary Grayson of the National Red Cross -- all of the agencies; the Red Cross itself, the Army Engineers, the Corps Area Commanders, the Public Health Service, the Army and Navy Medical Corps, the life boats of the Navy and their crews, and the Works Progress Administration, the U. S. Coast Guard -- all worked under a united leadership and threw all of the resources of the Federal Government to the assistance of life and the salvaging of property.

Also as a result of that flood, we, in Washington, have worked out a definite national policy. The Ohio Basin and other great river basins subject to floods can and are going to be made safe for our American civilization.

Of course we are not going to pay for it all. We are proceeding on the definite policy that every community will gladly do as much of its share of the work of flood prevention as the community can properly afford, and that over and above those contributions your Federal Government is assuming responsibility. That is another proof of the necessity of planning. A lot of people laugh about all the planning we are doing in Washington. But, in the long run, taking just flood prevention as one of the many examples, we will save hundreds of millions of dollars by planning for the future.

Flood prevention pays. It pays even if the Federal Government has to create a temporary deficit by borrowing money for flood prevention works at this time.

In one of our great national water heds -- before the Federal Government stepped in with planning and with work -- the average loss of property in a given year ran as high as twenty-five million dollars. That was just property alone -- twenty-five million dollars a year without counting the toll of human lives -- twenty-five millions of property damage to crops, to homes, to industrial plants, to highways and railways. It seems to me that, as a matter of practical business sense, it is well worth our while to spend, yes, two or three hundred million dollars on a watershed of that kind if thereby and for all time we can eliminate an annual loss of twenty-five million dollars.

On another watershed, the Missouri, the figures relating to the destruction of buildings and highways and industrial plants are not as great in annual loss as they are in other places but, in the case of the Missouri River and its tributaries, a careful checkup shows that thousands and thousands of acres of rich bottom land are being carried every year down to the Gulf of Mexico. Those lands are worth millions of dollars even as they are today. Think of their worth to the generations to come. Think of what they are worth, in terms of dollars, for the production of foodstuffs for future generations.

Here again, I think it is a mighty good business proposition to spend money now to save vast sums in future years.

Flood prevention is a national problem. The people of the Ohio Valley understand this and, I am sure, approve our intentions -- under a well coordinated plan -- to make the Ohio Basin flood proof; flood proof for our children and for their children.

In this work of planning and coordinating work on a vast scale, I want to acknowledge the splendid assistance I have received from the Senior Senator from Kentucky. This is a national problem. We need people of national experience with a national point of view to carry it out.

I wish I could stay here longer and see all of the work that you have done. I have been tremendously interested in it. From many sources, not Louisville sources alone but people who have visited here from every part of the Union, I have been given reports of the splendid work of rehabilitation you have carried out. Some day I hope to be able to come back here and stay a little longer.

There is only one advantage I have over you good people: I am going to get bigger fish in the Pacific than you can get in the Ohio.

It has been fine to see you. Thanks.

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127

7

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
BOWLING GREEN, KENTUCKY
July 8th, 1938.

(Senator Barkley introduced the President)

Senator Barkley, my friends of Bowling Green:

I am very glad to come here and, I only wish I could see this historical town by daylight. Some day I want to come back and spend a little more time with you.

I am especially happy to come to Bowling Green because it is the home town of an old friend of mine, Judge Logan, another splendid senator from the State of Kentucky.

I am going to tell you something that perhaps is a little premature but which you will know about some day. Some day, when history comes to be written there will be recorded an episode in the life of Senator Logan -- an episode that took place in the Spring of the year 1938. Unhesitating, clear-cut action on the part of Senator Logan whereby, at possible personal sacrifices, he stood square like a rock -- firm like a rock -- against dragging the Federal judiciary into a political campaign. That action on his part will be recognized as a splendid and spontaneous act of moral and ethical righteousness. By that act, Senator Logan stands for all time as an example of probity in public life, an example of which all Americans should be proud, an example of which I and the people of Kentucky are proud.

I am sorry he cannot be with me. He might be a little embarrassed if I were to say this in his presence, because he is a most modest man.

And I might say something about the Senior Senator from Kentucky. There are a lot of things I would like to say behind his back which would make him blush if I said them in front of his face.

He, as you know, is the Majority Leader of the United States Senate. As the Majority Leader, the leader of the majority part in the senior branch of the legislature of the United States, during all these years, he has been of the utmost assistance in working out the great problems that confront us today.

My friends, today's trip through Kentucky is a very different trip from the one I took in the campaign of 1932. As you know, you cannot compare conditions in 1932 with the conditions in 1938. I sort of sense a deep understanding, a human happiness in the hearts and in the minds of the great majority of Americans -- a happiness that this country is surviving under a democratic form of government.

About three years ago -- four years ago, I think at the end of the second session of the first Congress in my Administration, I wrote a book, a sort of a history of what had happened during those two years. I called that book by the title "On Our Way" and, believe me, though we have not yet reached the goal we set, we are on our way.

(End)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Russellville, Kentucky
July 8, 1938, 9.45 P.M.

(From the rear platform of his special train. There were about 8,000 people in the audience.)

MY FRIENDS:

I am sorry it is so late and I am sorry it is so dark. I am glad to come here, nevertheless. I am glad to come to Tom Rhea's home town, especially so because he is a very old friend of mine and back in the year 1932, in what we call the dark ages, in that year it was Tom Rhea who did so much to make possible the Kentucky delegation being for my nomination in Chicago.

We have had a wonderful day, a wonderful afternoon and evening in the State of Kentucky, and I am very glad that I have had, as my traveling companion, my old friend, Alben Barkley.

(Applause)

Good luck to you and I hope to come back and see you all some day. Good night.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Booneville, Arkansas
July 9, 1938, 10.10 A.M.

(Senator Caraway presented the President.)

MY FRIENDS:

I am very glad to come to this section of Arkansas. I have never been in the western part of the State before. I have been talking this morning on the train with a very old friend of mine and a friend of yours, Senator Caraway. (Applause)

I say, "a very old friend" because I have known her for -- I hate to think that it is a quarter of a century. In the Wilson administration, of course, I knew her very distinguished husband when I was a very young Assistant Secretary of the Navy and he was representing this State in the lower House before he went to the Senate.

I have been talking to her about this section of the State and I was particularly interested to know something I did not know before, that the Magazine (Mountain) is the highest point, if you count the Black Hills of the Dakotas as part of the Rockies, it is the highest point of land between the Alleghenies and the Rockies.

I am glad that the Government is doing such fine work in this section, and I am glad also to know, through Senator Caraway, that work is being done on soil erosion in this State, that there is probably more work being done on soil erosion in the State of Arkansas than in any other state in the Union.

I am very firmly convinced that Arkansas is not only going

to become a very great state by the use of its natural resources of all kinds, if we conserve them properly, but also that it is going to be one of the great playgrounds of America.

But I think, quite frankly, that you need to do more advertising.

It has been fine to be here. I wish I could come in a motor car, in an automobile some day and drive through this section, not only because of its wonderful scenery but also because of its people.

I have been interested also in being told that in this section of the State there is a very large element of the population that comes from the fine old German stock which has done so much to develop the Southwest.

I hope that some day I will be able to come back and get to know you a little bit better than I do now. You have a great future and I know you realize that your National Government is trying to do its best and has been for the last five years in national terms. We want to develop the whole of the country and not just special parts of it. That means that there won't be any sections of the country forgotten any more if we have our way. (Applause)

It is fine to see you. I will say this for this climate, that it is not nearly as hot as Ohio and Kentucky. (Applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Wister, Oklahoma
July 9, 1938, 12.05 P.M.

(From the rear platform of his special train.)

I am glad to come to Wister. I have never been in this part of the State before. I have been reading a great deal about the Wister Dam and I am glad that the National Government, with your help, is going ahead with it. (Applause)

As you know, this project here is just one of a great many national projects intended to use water to save land and to develop power. All over the United States this particular Administration has been trying to think about the future and, in thinking about the future, to help the people of the present day. Gradually, we are beginning to harness all of the water that falls out of the heavens and on to the land so that before it gets down to the sea it will have served every possible purpose, the improvement of land and the prevention of soil erosion, the improvement of forestry, the development of reclamation and irrigation projects, the development of power and the prevention of floods.

In this whole national picture, as you know, your Government is spending a great deal of money, but we think, looking towards the future, that that money is well spent and will come back to our people many hundreds times over.

I wish I could see this particular project. One of my jobs in Washington is to study maps and reports and on this particular little cruise that I am going to take in the Pacific and back

through the Panama Canal, I have two great big boxes of papers, reports of all kinds that I, in my spare moments when I am not fishing, am going to study and try to get familiar with at first hand.

As you know, I do like to see the projects themselves but one of the penalties of having a somewhat large executive job in Washington is that I cannot see them all with my own eyes. Some day perhaps I will be able to come back here and see the Wister Dam when it is finished. In the meantime, good luck to you.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
McAlester, Oklahoma
July 9, 1938, 12.50 P.M.

(From the rear platform of his special train. The President was introduced by Senator Thomas.)

This is a familiar scene. I am glad to be back in McAlester and some day I hope to be able to get off the train and see something of this town. I had never come through the eastern part of the State before and I have been much interested in all that I have seen. I am glad to be here with your Congressman and my two old friends, Senators from Oklahoma.

As you know, I have been tremendously interested in the past six years, or longer than that, in the development and the protection of our natural resources.

It may be interesting to you, who once mined coal in this section, to hear a little story that was told to me by one of the greatest power engineers in the United States. I said to him, "Of course we are developing our oil, we are developing our water power, but isn't it true that the use of power all over the country is increasing with great rapidity? Are we going to have enough natural resources for the future?" And he said something to me that I had not known before, that the use of electrical power will probably double once every eight or nine years, in other words, that the average citizen, the average household, is going to use power of one kind or another much more greatly not only in the cities but on the farms, and also, of course, in the growing number of industries and factories. I said to him, "Well, where are we going to

get it from?" He said, "Do you realize that in some parts of the United States, southeastern Kansas, eastern Oklahoma, corners of Texas, there are great underlying beds of coal under the ground, enough tonnage there to last the population of the United States for half a thousand years to come? And," he said, "inevitably, when we come to it, we will produce from those natural resources that are not being tapped today."

I could not help but think of that in coming through a part of the United States that has great undeveloped coal beds and undoubtedly some of you young people may live to see the day when this coal is being turned into power. I hope to see that day come myself.

As you know, this is purely a trip of inspection. I may, occasionally, mention a few words of politics, but, of course, not in a partisan way. I am seeking what most of the people of this country are seeking, judging by the elections of 1930 and 1932 and 1934 and 1936, to maintain a liberal Government in the Nation's capital. And my boys would say, "We are going places" and I want to keep on going places. (Applause)

It is good to see you and I hope to come back and visit with you again a little while longer.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Shawnee, Oklahoma
July 9, 1938, about 4.15 P.M.

(The President spoke from the rear platform of his special train. There were about 3,000 in the audience. The President was introduced by Senator Thomas.)

MY FRIENDS:

I am in the middle of a very distinguished gathering on this car platform, the Governor of the State and both of the United States Senators and a flock of Congressmen and last, but not least, my small boy Elliott.

Elliott and I have an inferiority complex because we are the runts of the Roosevelt family. I am only six feet one and a half and he is only six feet two, but all the others are a lot taller than that.

I am glad to come into this part of the State because I have never been here before, and I am very glad to see the fine progress that has been made. I can remember as a very small boy when this State was called Indian Territory, and I can remember the pictures in the weekly magazines, when I was a small boy, of people lined up along the border, waiting for the bugle to blow, and then the rush would begin. And now see what has happened.

We are all proud of Oklahoma, proud of the great development that has been made here, and we are equally proud of the fine future that lies ahead of this State.

I am glad to learn more about it at first hand, and from all I have seen it makes me want to come back here just as soon as I can.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
July 9, 1938, about 6.00 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Senator Thomas.)

SENATOR THOMAS, GOVERNOR MARLAND, MR. MAYOR, MY FRIENDS OF OKLAHOMA:

I am glad at last, after many years of wanting to and trying to, I am glad to come to Oklahoma City.

(Oklahoma) Your great State will always have a certain distinction in my memory, (for) because it is the only part of the forty-eight states which, when I, as a small boy, started to study geography, bore a different name (when, as a small boy, I started to study Geography). I am fortunate in being old enough to be able to remember it as Indian Territory and to remember also the enormous interest in every part of the country when the prospective settlers lined up at the borders and, at the sound of a bugle, rushed forward to establish new homes and new communities in this delightful part of the (country) earth.

Since those days you good people have gone far. A splendid future lies before you, and you can rest assured that your National Government knows very definitely that you are on the map. (Applause)

During the past ten or fifteen years, when I was Governor of New York, and even before that, I specialized on the subject of natural resources and therefore I am particularly glad that Oklahoma is natural resources conscious, and I am glad that (Oklahoma also) it appreciates so well that natural resources are, at the same time, national resources and that in their conserving and development, all of us, far and near, have to make our plans from the national point of view.

Slowly but surely we are developing a national policy, for example, in regard to the oil resources of the Nation, and your Governor has given great assistance toward that end. (Applause)

Probably the most important long-range problem is something that affects all of us, whether we live in the city or the country, and that is the use of land and water. I was sorry this morning that I could not have stopped (this morning) to view the Grand River Dam Project. It was due to the persistent effort of my old friend, Senator Thomas, and Senator Lee, (applause) (that the appropriation bill of 1935 was amended, with the result that the Grand River Dam Project is definitely under way) that that particular project is definitely under way, and I might say the same thing about other projects on other watersheds of this State.

(That) I think the Grand River project is a good illustration of the national aspect of water control, (for) because it is a vital link in the still larger problem of the whole (of the) Valley of the Arkansas -- a planning task -- and some people laugh at planning -- that starts far west in the Rocky Mountains, west of the Royal Gorge, and runs on down through Colorado and Kansas and Oklahoma and Arkansas to the Mississippi River itself and thence to the sea. The day will come, I hope, when every drop of water that flows into that great watershed, through all those states, will be controlled for the benefit of mankind, controlled for the growing of forests, for the prevention of soil erosion, for the irrigation of land, for the development of water power, for the ending of floods and (for) the improvement of navigation.

(Such a vision will be of direct benefit to millions of

our people, and the price paid for it will be returned many times.)

A vision like that, my friends, will be of direct benefit to millions of our people, not only to the people of the territory through which that river flows but indirectly to the people on the Pacific Coast, on the Atlantic Seaboard, and in the deep South. And the price, the dollars and cents we pay for a great development of that kind, will return to the pocketbooks of the State manyfold. The same thing applies to the Red River and to the tributaries that flow into the other streams.

In (a similar) the same way, the Federal Government is using the fact, the unfortunate fact, of unemployment and the necessity for giving help to many of our people, using that fact in order to assist communities in the erection of much-needed public improvements. This is true, as you know, of the work of many agencies of the Federal Government, especially the Public Works Administration and the Works Progress Administration.

Senator Thomas has been of enormous help to me and the Administration in keeping me advised as to the needs of your State and as to how we, in Washington, could help to meet them. (Applause) For example, I am told by (Senator Thomas) him that the Works Progress program in Oklahoma is leaving permanent monuments all over the State, monuments that will last to the time of our great grandchildren, and in the matter of new and improved schoolhouses alone, just that one item in this State, (and that in the matter of new or improved schoolhouses alone this State) in cooperation with WPA, the State has made a greater record than any other state in the Union. (Applause)

I have to think along national lines and, in the last analysis, you do too. It is essential, of course, that if the national policies of the National Administration are to be carried forward there must be a general agreement on those policies by those who are responsible for the legislation which makes them possible.

Two weeks ago, in speaking over a national hookup, I referred to that fact -- to the fact that the Nation is living today, and has been since March 4, 1933, essentially under a government (which) that is essentially liberal and nationally thinking in its outlook -- a government which is progressively bettering our economic and social conditions. (Applause)

And I explained why, if the people want that kind of government to continue, they should choose officials to represent that point of view -- and that, on the other hand, if (the) people want to go back to the school of thought of the unfortunate twenties of this century, they should choose people with a conservative outlook. (Applause)

And I suggested (also) that it is always a good thing to look beyond the surface, beneath the surface, of things (and) to look into men's hearts.

Do they really mean what they say -- or are they the kind that profess great devotion to the cause of bettering the lot of their (fellowmen) fellow countrymen, and, when the time for action comes, find all kinds of reasons why they (should) cannot support the action proposed. (Applause) (I refer to such people as -) And I have referred to people of that kind as "Yes, but - people."

Of course, some are not even "Yes, but - people" for I note that one of the candidates for a place on the Democratic State ticket

in Oklahoma this year is nationally known as a Republican. (Prolonged applause.)

In the same way we find others who seek office, sincerely or otherwise, on perfectly impossible pledges and platforms -- people with panaceas for reforming the world overnight -- people who are not practical in an age (which) that must be and can be both practical and progressive. Theodore Roosevelt was perhaps a bit rough in his language when he referred to such people as "the lunatic fringe." Of course, strictly speaking, they (are) were not lunatics but in many cases a little push (would) may shove them over the line.

(Applause)

During these past six years the people of this Nation have definitely said "yes", with no "but" about it, (applause) they said "yes" to the old Biblical question -- "Am I my brother's keeper?" In these six years I sense a growing devotion to the teachings of the Scriptures, to the quickening of religion, to a greater willingness on the part of the individual to help his neighbor and to live less unto and for himself alone.

It is in (this) that spirit, my friends, that your National Government seeks to carry on its task. It is in this spirit that, in the consideration of every new problem, our first question is this: "What makes for the greatest good of the greatest number?"

America needs a government of constant progress along liberal lines. America requires that this progress be sane and that this progress be honest. America calls for a government with a soul.

(Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Purcell, Oklahoma
July 9, 1938, 7.30 P.M.

(The President spoke from the rear platform of his Special Train.)

I am glad to see you all. I think there was a conspiracy to carry me right through to where Elliott lives without stopping.

We have had a wonderful day. I don't think I have ever seen so many human beings in one spot, together, as I saw in Oklahoma City. Of course you can get various estimates of crowds and they ran anywhere today from 175,000 to 250,000 people, and that is quite a lot of them. And I have never had such a good day as I have had today in this State. (Applause)

I did not know this part of the State before; I had never been down on this road from Oklahoma City to Fort Worth but, ever since my small boy, Elliott, came down to the Southwest, I have been coming here at every opportunity because I like your country, and also because I like to see conditions at first hand. I think they are a lot better than they were back in 1932, don't you? (Applause)

Of course, there is still a lot to be done. I think it is terribly important that all of the people who are trying to run the National Government in Washington should get around the country and see things with their own eyes. That is why I encourage members of the Cabinet and the heads of the different Government agencies to travel around the country and see how the work they are doing is panning out, such as city public works, water canals and everything else. We are trying to give you a National Government that is really

national in its outlook, trying to help every part of the country
equally and fairly.

It is a privilege to me to have had this ride today.
It is good to see you. Good night.

EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
OVER THE RADIO, 7.15 PM, July 10, 1938.

My friends of Texas:

I am glad to be back in Texas - and especially to have a nice quiet family day at my son Elliott's ranch. I always remember that when he first decided to build a house here on top of the hill, he was attracted by the fact that the wide view from here is a little like the view from our old home, far up the Hudson River.

This is a grand part of the country and I am glad indeed to have such a close family connection with it. Tomorrow, on my way to Colorado, I will pass through a part of Texas I have never been to -- Wichita Falls and Amarillo -- and I am glad to know that this year the rainfall has greatly improved conditions in the Panhandle.

That makes me remember one of the objectives of the national administration -- better land use and an all-weather crop program. Nine years ago, when I was Governor of the State of New York, I started my interest in the better use of land. People are apt to think of New York State as a vast metropolis but outside of the city at the southern end of the State, more than six million people live on farms and in villages and small cities. Indeed, New York State ranks in the value of its agricultural products as the fifth or sixth state in the Union. A survey showed us that much of the farming land was being used in an uneconomical way, that thousands of acres were being badly eroded, that reforestation was a great need, that we had to plan for the help of stranded communities, for improving rural schools, bringing in electricity and good roads and stopping the waste and the poverty that so often attended the older methods of doing business.

When I was working on this problem in Albany, I was struck by the fact that agriculture cannot be thought of or worked for just on state lines. Every crop on every farm in every county and every state has a definite tie-in -- a relationship with similar crops in other states. That is why, since I have been in Washington, I have been working on the agricultural and cattle program from a national angle. For example, not only does cotton in Texas have a definite relationship to cotton in Georgia, but cotton in the South and Southwest is clearly connected with the economics of the wheat grower in the Dakotas, the cattle man of Wyoming and the potato grower of Maine. Where one has a poor year, his lack of prosperity hits all of the others. Where one is prosperous, all the others are helped.

In one sense, Texas is a great empire in itself -- you can produce almost everything needed by man, but what gratifies me most of all is that the people of the Lone Star State are co-operating so well with all the other states of the Union in working out our mutual national problems. In this way we will get away from spotty prosperity and work towards universal prosperity.

You need more industries in Texas, but I know you realize the importance of not trying to get industries by the route of cheap wages for industrial workers. Cheap wages mean low buying power. Low buying power means low standards of living and that means low taxable values and therefore difficulty in maintaining good schools, highways, sanitation and other public improvements.

I know from all that I have seen that new industries can and will be developed in this state because of your access to raw materials, because of the efficiency of your labor, because of the growing purchasing power and because of the spirit of the people.

Yes, I am proud of the spirit of Texas, the spirit of all of its people. I have fished your coasts, I have seen your fields, your oil wells, your cattle, your waterways, your schools and colleges.

And now, as I sit here in a garden on top of a hill, with a breeze blowing and a sunset coming, surrounded by a very delightful gathering of Texans, all I can think of is that I want to come back again many, many times in the days to come.

End.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
From the Rear Platform of his Special Train
Bowie, Texas
July 11, 1938, about 11.35 A.M.

I am glad to come to Bowie. You have a lot to live up to in this town, not only on account of the great heroes of the Alamo, but on account of two great men who were born here; the Governor of Texas, and Amon Carter.

I am going to look around in a minute to see that famous place where Amon Carter started in selling sandwiches.

Grand.

You ought to have an apron on Amon.

(Amon Carter presented the President with biscuits and chicken)

This would not be complete unless I handed Amon a dime.

INFORMAL, EXTIMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
From the Rear Platform of his Special Train
Wichita Falls, Texas
July 11, 1938, about 1.00 P.M.

GOVERNOR ALLRED, MY FRIENDS OF WICHITA FALLS:

I am glad to come here. My old friend, Congressman McFarlane has told me much about "The City that faith built." That is the finest name that any city in the Nation could have.

And I am also familiar with this area because my uncle, Frederic A. Delano, who is head of the National Resources Board in Washington, spent many months in Wichita Falls a few years ago when he was appointed by the Supreme Court of the United States to solve the problem of the oil wells in the bed of the Red River in the establishing of the boundary between Texas and Oklahoma.

And, incidentally, I have kept in pretty close touch with all of the fine things that you have been doing in recent years. Congressman McFarlane has told me of your reclamation projects, of your subsistence homesteads, of your power developments, and I am glad that the Federal Government knows that you people are on the map.

As you probably know, I have been accused in the past six years of breaking or making precedents and now I am going to create another precedent at the present time, a precedent that concerns the first citizen of the Lone Star State, your own Governor. As Attorney General and as Governor he has established an enviable record for fearlessness, for honesty and for good government.

Born in Bowie and a resident of Wichita Falls, he is, nevertheless, a resident, a citizen of the whole State of Texas -- and that

is recognized throughout the State. He represents every part of it.

As I said a couple of weeks ago, the efforts of the people of this country to improve our judicial system have succeeded. Our principal objectives for the improvement of justice are on the way to being fully established.

In line with these purposes, I am seeking, wherever it is possible, to nominate younger men to positions on the Federal Bench. That thought, and that purpose, coupled with his fine record, has led me to offer the position of United States District Judge for the Southern District of Texas to James V. Allred, Governor of Texas.

Governor, step forward. Governor Allred, I hand you herewith the official appointment by the President of the United States as United States District Judge. May you be happy in this post of great responsibility. May you serve the people of the district, the people of the State and the people of the United States for many long years to come.

And Jimmy Allred, my friend, I wish you all the good luck in the world.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
From the Rear Platform of his Special Train
Chillicothe, Texas
July 11, 1938, 2.45 P.M.

I am glad to see you all.

I have a good deal the advantage over many other people because I travel so much around the country that I know the map of the United States.

I have been very much interested in seeing this particular part of the State. I have never come through here and I am greatly interested in seeing these fine crops around here. It is pretty good crop country from all that I can see and, as you know, I am very much interested in the problem of water, water for those sections of the country that are not directly supplied with it.

I believe that I know, because of my studies, the water problem, the rivers and the rainfall in almost every county of the United States and that is why, through all the country that I am seeing today, I am taking a special interest in the problem of keeping water from running off down to the sea before it has served every possible use it can be put to for the population of the country. It is a big job and it is going to last a couple of more generations before we see our way to using all of the water that is now going to waste, but we will come to it. So you can rest assured that I am completely water conscious.

It is good to see you all. I wish I had time to motor through this country and see it better than I can from the train. I wish, too, that I could take the time to get acquainted with some of you personally. Thank you very much.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
From the Rear Platform of his Special Train
Childress, Texas
July 11, 1938, 3.45 P.M.

(There were about 5,000 people in the audience.)

MY FRIENDS:

I am glad to come out to West Texas. I am glad to come out to Marvin Jones' district. Tom Connally and I have been kidding him on this train, wondering whether when we came into the home district of the Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture of the House of Representatives, whether we would find agriculture was a whole lot better here than in any other place in the country. (Applause)

Marvin says that you are doing pretty good.

I have been very much interested in coming through this end of Texas. I have never been through here before. But I have been fairly familiar with it in a good many ways because, in the last six years, I have had to get a good deal of first-hand knowledge about the problems of every part of the country.

I am very glad to know that you are all water conscious. I hope the day will come -- it will take a long time to do it -- I hope the day will come when every drop of water that falls out of the heavens will serve the highest use, the best use possible for mankind before it gets down into the Gulf of Mexico. (Applause)

We are learning a lot; we know more about all these problems today than we did ten years or twenty years ago. Back in the East there are a good many people who laugh about the Dust Bowl, they laugh about the efforts on the part of man to change nature.

I wish they could come out and see the people who live in this country and who are making good in this country.

That is why we in Washington, thinking in national terms, are doing everything that we possibly can to make every area of the United States a better place to live in, to give a greater security not only to this generation but to the children who are going to follow us in the days to come.

It has been fine to be here with you today. I wish I could come through sometime and take a little bit more time to see things at first hand. Many thanks.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
From the Rear Platform of his Special Train
Clarendon, Texas
July 11, 1938, 5.25 P.M.

(There were about 1,000 people in the audience.)

I am very glad to get into Marvin Jones' district. I have been hearing about it about once a week for five and one-half years.

(Applause)

I am glad of another thing. Away east of here, on the Hudson River where I live and down in Washington, there have been occasions in the last few years when the sun has been darkened in the middle of the day, darkened by topsoil from the Panhandle. I would much rather see the topsoil of the Panhandle stay right here than have it move east.

(Applause)

That is one reason why all of us are thinking a lot about the problems out here where you have not got as much rain as there is in other parts of the country. We do not want your soil to leave here, because it is fine soil. We want to keep all the water that comes out of the heavens right here for the improvement of your soil and the growing of crops.

That is one of the major problems we have before us in Washington. And, remember one thing, it is not just your problem because your prosperity here in Western Texas is very vital to the rest of the Nation. If you people are not prosperous, it hurts the farms, it hurts the farm population and the city population in every other part of the country. If you people out here are prosperous, not just one year out of seven but seven years out of seven, that means more for the prosperity

of the rest of the country. It gives you purchasing power and it means that you can contribute your share to the national wealth and the national good. It is in that spirit that we people in Washington, in the last five years, have been looking at all of these problems as national problems because they all tie in together in every part of the land.

I am glad to take this opportunity to be here in a portion of Texas that I have never seen before and I hope to come back some day and see more of you. (Applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
In Ellwood Park, Amarillo, Texas
July 11, 1938, about 7.30 P.M.

MY FRIENDS OF THE PANHANDLE AND YOU FROM NEIGHBORING CITIES WHO HAVE
BEEN GOOD ENOUGH TO COME HERE TODAY:

If I had asked the newspapermen on the train what the odds
were, they would have given me 100 to 1 that it wouldn't be raining in
Amarillo. Well -- here I am after trying to come here for six years.

Even if Marvin Jones had not kept on telling me about Amarillo
once a week (for the past five and a half) during these six years, I
would have known all about it because this is the spot where my wife
was presented with the biggest bunch of flowers in all the world.

And, before I left home Mrs. Roosevelt asked me especially
to convey her greetings to Amarillo and to tell you how much she en-
joyed every (moment) minute of her visit with you.

Yes, the biggest bouquet in the world -- and here you are
greeting me with the biggest band in the world. Back in the East en-
terprising communities have thought they were creating world records
by assembling bands (or) with five hundred instruments but out here
you think nothing of a band with (two thousand pieces in it) 2500 in-
struments. All of this shows what you can do.

All this shows what you can do in the Panhandle if you put
your minds to it, and that is why I am very happy that you are putting
your minds on the subject of (water and) land and water (use). Every-
where you go in the United States you find the problem of land and water
(use), and the same thing is true within any given state. For instance,
in Texas here in Marvin Jones' district most of the time the problem is

to get water (to) out of the land and to keep the land from blowing away. Down in Austin the problem of my friend, Congressman Lyndon Johnson, is to keep his land from washing away -- washing down the rivers and into the sea. And further down at San Antonio, where my friend, Congressman Maury Maverick, represents a great city and its surrounding territory, the problem of land use there is tied up with better housing and the needs of a great municipality.

I wish that more people from the South and the East and the Middle West could visit this Plains country. If they did you would hear less talk about the great American desert, you would hear less ridicule of our efforts to conserve water, to restore grazing lands and to plant trees.

Back in the East, in Washington and on the Hudson River I have seen the top soil of the Panhandle and of Western Kansas and Nebraska borne by the high wind (high) in the air eastward to the Atlantic Ocean itself. I want that sight to come to an end.

And it can be ended only by (a) united national effort, backed up one hundred per cent by you who live in this area, and you are giving us that backing.

Money spent for the building of ponds and small lakes, for the damming of rivers, for planting shelterbelts, for other forms of afforestation, for putting plough land back into grass, that is money well spent. It pays to do it, not only for this generation but for the children who will succeed to the land a few years hence.

People who are ignorant and people who think only in terms of the moment scoff at our efforts and say -- "Oh, let the next generation take care of itself -- if people out in the dry parts of the

country cannot live there let them move out and hand the land back to the Indians." But, my friends, that is not (my) your idea or (yours) mine. We seek permanently to establish this part of the (country) Nation as a fine and safe place which a large number of Americans can call home.

Every year that passes we are learning more and more about the best use of land, about the conserving of our soil and the improvement of it by getting everything we can out of every drop of water that falls from the heavens and today is a good example of it. Back in the (Alleghenies) Allegheny Mountains many of the rivers are called "flash streams" -- dry beds or rivulets most of the year -- but raging torrents sweeping all before them when a cloudburst or heavy rain occurs. And you have flash streams here.

We are fortunate in Washington in having as Chairman of the Agricultural Committee of the House of Representatives a man who has a well-rounded knowledge of (the) agricultural programs and problems in every part of the United States. He and I have discussed many times the great objective of putting agriculture and cattle raising on a safe basis -- giving assurance(s) to those who engage in (these) those pursuits that they will not be broke one year and flush the next. We need a greater permanency, (and) a greater annual security for (those) all who use the soil.

The farming and cattle raising population of the United States has no wish, no desire to be paid a subsidy or given a handout from the Federal Treasury. They have come to understand, and the rest of the country is learning too, that the agricultural program of (this) the Administration is not a subsidy. It is divided into three (principal)

simple parts.

The first part represents government assistance to help the individual farmer to use his land for those products for which it is best fitted, and to maintain and improve its fertility.

The second objective is, with the approval of those who raise (the) crops, to prevent overproduction and low prices -- and at the same time to provide against any shortage(s), in other words, to apply common sense business principles to the business of farming and cattle raising. And as a part of (this) that second objective we seek to give to the farmers throughout the country as high a purchasing power for their labor as those who work in industry and other occupations.

The third effort of (the) your Government is directed towards a great decrease in farm tenancy and towards the increase (of) in farm ownership by those who till the soil. (This) That includes the encouragement of small farms and of even smaller acreages for those who live near the cities and work in the cities, and who should by all the rules of common sense grow on a few acres around their homes a substantial part of their own family food supply.

You have given me a wonderful reception today in Amarillo, not counting the rain, and I am happy, I am happy indeed, to have been able to see (seen) this extraordinarily interesting and progressive part of the United States. I am grateful to you for your cooperation (in) with your National Government, your cooperation in and understanding of all that we are (doing) trying to do in the National Administration to help those who are willing to help themselves, and you people will.

And so, my friends, I shall never forget this visit of mine
to Amarillo. And I am coming back again. And I think this little
shower we have had is a mighty good omen.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT

Pueblo, Colorado

July 12, 1938

(Governor Ammons introduced the President)

Governor Ammons, my friends of Pueblo.

It is good to be back here. I was not quite sure this morning whether I was going to be back here or not because I read in a Denver paper that this was the first time in twenty years that a President had come to Pueblo. I must have been dreaming about my 1936 trip to Pueblo or else I was not President at that time.

I have been having a very delightful trip across the country. It is a very big country and there are a great many parts of it that I cannot possibly see on a given trip. But what has impressed me on this trip are two things. The first is that we seem to have had a pretty good agricultural year, even down in the dust bowl. When I got to the last place in the world I thought I could possibly find rain — Amarillo — I got soaking wet.

And the other thing that impressed me was the growing understanding that everybody seems to have of our national problems.

The example that I used back East is one that directly affects this part of the State of Colorado, the Arkansas River. The average person on the Eastern Seaboard thinks of the Arkansas as some kind of a little creek that grows in Arkansas and drops down with a lot of floods into the Mississippi. And when I tell them that the Arkansas River starts way west of Pueblo, Colorado, back of the trans-continental divide, and that you here were once upon a time nearly wiped out by a flood on that River — that it wanders on down through this state and Kansas and Oklahoma and Arkansas before it even reaches the Mississippi, then they go and get their geography books to verify what I said.

It is a pretty good illustration because that River isn't just the problem of one state or one community. It calls for national planning and that national planning for the Arkansas River involves a great many different angles that you and I know — not only flood prevention but irrigation, reclamation, reforestation, power development and all the things that go with the development of an entire watershed. So it is a good illustration and I always talk about the Arkansas River or Pueblo when I use it.

The same things applies of course to practically every other watershed in the state. You people in this State have a pretty well rounded picture of what that means because you are on two watersheds, one running into the Gulf of Mexico and the other into the Pacific Ocean. You have certain problems — your Governor and I have talked about them — over the use of the water of the Colorado River and some of our friends down at lower Arizona and California — perhaps they have different ideas about the use of that water.

That illustrates why we have to have — not the Federal Government running everything — but the Federal Government as a focal meeting place for all kinds of national problems so our states can resolve the difficulties they may have between each other, a common meeting ground. We are getting over the selfish point of view; we are thinking of all of our problems in national terms.

We have been trying — I think all of us sincerely — to make this Nation conscious of the fact that it is a nation. If we succeed in that it means we can make democracy work, and that is our big objective.

We don't want and we are not going to copy other forms of government — ours is good enough for us.

Today I am going for the third or fourth time up through the Royal Gorge — one of the finest scenic spots in the whole of the United States. More and more this scenery of ours in the Rocky Mountains is being recognized as a national asset by people all over the country and they are coming here for their vacation time. I believe that also is a good thing. If we could get everybody in the United States to travel all around the United States, we

Page 4 2.

would eliminate in large part our political differences. We would get to know each other better.

It is in that spirit of the traveller -- the man who wants to go around the country to take a look-see, to find out more about the problems of every section -- that I am passing through Pueblo today. I wish I could stay longer. This trip is helping me to get a re-orientation of what is going on in the United States.

(End)

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
From the Rear Platform of his Special Train
Salida, Colorado
July 12, 1938, 12.30 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Congressman Martin, of Colorado.)

The Congressman got off a good line this morning. He said that once upon a time he had been a railroad man but he had slipped badly, he slipped badly and became a lawyer. (Laughter) I think he is right; I am a lawyer, too.

It is good to see you all. We are having a grand ride. As you know, I have been through here a good many times before and I always think of my first trip to the 1920 Convention in San Francisco, where they nominated me for Vice President by mistake. (Laughter) I don't think they could find anybody else to run that year. (Laughter) However, it did give me an opportunity to see a good deal of the United States. I campaigned in the summer and fall of 1920 in forty-two states in the Union, and I think that gave me, perhaps, my first picture of the country as a whole.

As you know, we have been trying, since 1933, down in Washington to think of our problems, of our many problems, on a national basis, and I believe that we are getting somewhere.

I suppose that while I was waiting to come out, the Governor and the Senators and the Congressmen were making old-fashioned political orations to you, but apparently it is a little early in the summer; that will be turned on later.

It is good to see you all. As you know, this is one of my favorite ways of getting across the continent, so you will probably

see me back again the first chance I get.

(Some flowers were presented to the President.)

I do not know who gave them to me but they are awfully nice. We will put them on the dining room table.

You know, in 1936, I did not get as far west as this. I got to Pueblo and Denver. On that trip I had a favorite flower, the sunflower. (Laughter) Since November of 1936 I always consider the sunflower my lucky flower.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
From the Rear Platform of his Special Train
Grand Junction, Colorado
July 12, 1938, 8.10 P.M.

MY FRIENDS:

I am glad to come back here. I have not been here for a number of years but I know this route across the continent very well and I am glad to see what look like real signs of prosperity throughout the State of Colorado.

You know, this method of traveling is a very wonderful thing. The reason I delayed coming out on the platform was because I have been talking on the long-distance telephone right here, from the end of the car, to Washington, D. C., talking with Harry Hopkins, the Administrator of Works Progress, and before I leave here I am probably going to talk to a couple more Government officials in the National Capital. It shows, it is just one illustration of how closely in touch every part of the country is with every other part.

I have been, on this trip, paying special attention to the subject of water. You know what water means; you know the need of it. (Applause) We believe, in Washington, that it is not only cotton and wheat and corn and hogs that are major crops in the United States, but that there are a lot of other crops, such as fruit, and a lot of other things, like mining, that are really in the position of being major industries. That is why we are trying to include them in the picture of national prosperity, not just a spotty prosperity that hits only certain areas of the country but the kind of prosperity that is felt in every single spot and every section of every state. That is why we are doing what we call "national planning."

There are a good many people that take a nearsighted point of view that there isn't any such thing as national planning, that every man ought to be for himself, that we ought to go back to the "good old days," but, since the fourth of March, 1933, your National Administration in every state of the Union has been trying to give the kind of help that will be well-rounded help, tying in the prosperity of one section with the prosperity of another.

It is a very interesting thing to me that if, five or six years ago, I had made a speech in the City of New York and told them in New York that their prosperity was definitely tied in with, let us say, the mines of Colorado, or with the fruit or beets or other crops of Colorado, they would have expressed a mild interest, but very mild. They would not have seen the connection. In the same way, five or six years ago, if I had gone out through this territory and had told you that your prosperity here is pretty closely tied up with some of the great industrial centers of the country, you would have expressed mild interest but it would not have meant very much to you. In these years we have come to realize, all over the country, I think, that agricultural prosperity is definitely affected by industrial prosperity; in other words, if the workers in the great industrial plants in Pittsburgh and New York and Cleveland and Chicago and other places, if those workers in those big plants have got purchasing power, if the plants are running, they can buy more of the things that you produce on the farm and in the mines and, in the same way, if you are prosperous and have purchasing power, you out here can buy more of the things that are produced in the great industrial centers. That is what I call the successful working out of the processes of

democracy, and we, as you know, are trying to make democratic government work. (Applause)

We are not only delighted to have the Governor of Colorado and the Senators and the Congressmen with us today, but I am glad also that my old friend, the Governor of Utah, has joined the train. (Applause)

On this trip I have to pass through most of Utah by night but I know the State pretty well and when I wake up in the morning, my daughter and her husband from Seattle will be aboard. So, you see, this is a very happy family trip.

It has been good to see you all. I did not come out here for political reasons but to take my annual "look-see" around the country. I hope to be back and see you good people in the western part of the State of Colorado again very soon.

Many thanks.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
From the Rear Platform of his Special Train
Carlin, Nevada
July 13, 1938, about 11.30 A.M.

I am glad to get back into Nevada. I have had a wonderful trip. This morning I have some of the family with me -- my daughter Anna and John Boettiger, who joined us in Salt Lake City.

I wish I could spend a little more time in this State. I haven't been through here for some time. Last time I came through the southern part of the State was for the dedication of Boulder Dam.

As you know, like you good people out here, I am water conscious. I think we are getting water conscious all over the country and it has been one of my hopes, as it is yours, that through the better use of water all through the drier parts of the country we can increase the population of those drier parts of the country.

The population of this State is altogether too small. Nevada can support and is going to support a large population. And one way of doing it is to take every kind of step, locally and through the State Government and the Federal Government for the better use of the water resources.

In the past five or six years I have done as much studying of the map of this State as anybody in this State. I know the possibilities and I want to assure you that your Government in Washington is not forgetting your existence or your problems. We are trying in in every way we possibly can to get more people into this State, to develop its resources for future generations who are going to live in the State.

And, now I have to go in and check on various telephone calls from Washington. One of the things I have had to do is to keep in touch with Washington because there are so many problems all over the country and, also, the problems with respect to foreign affairs, that it is very essential that I use the telephone.

Next Saturday, when I get aboard the cruiser in San Diego, I will be in touch with Washington within, you might say, five minutes touch, by radio. This gives an illustration of how much easier it is for a President to travel around the country and keep in touch with things than it was twenty or thirty years ago. Modern invention has made these look-see trips of mine possible where they would not have been in the old days.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
From the Rear Platform of his Special Train
Inlay, Nevada
July 13, 1938, about 3.00 P.M.

I am glad to hear the Governor call it desert -- it is desert -- it is pretty good desert.

It is good to be back again in Nevada and get a chance to see things again. It seems to me they look a lot better than they did a few years ago and as you know, your Government in Washington knows that this State is on the map which is something. Some administrations didn't know it was on the map. And, I have been very glad that your State administration, from your Governor down, work so well with all of us on the other side of the continent. We have had real cooperation from the State Government. We have not had any dissention or cross words, and when all of us decided things had to be done, they have been done.

You people know I am water conscious -- although not a strict prohibitionist --

When I was down on the Ohio River the other day I told them I would catch bigger fish than grew in the Ohio, though I don't think I will get anything that tastes better to eat than Nevada trout -- the Senator gave me some Nevada trout for lunch -- it was delicious.

It is good to see you all and I hope to get back here again some day. I hope some day to come in an automobile and stay longer and get to know you better.

It is good to see you.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
From the Rear Platform of his Special Train
Sparks, Nevada
July 13, 1938, 6.20 P.M.

(There were about 1500 people in the audience.)

I am glad to come back through Nevada. It has been several years since I have been across the continent this way. One of the reasons for this trip, as the Governor has so kindly suggested, is that I want to keep in touch with the people of the United States.

Nevada has not been forgotten in Washington. We are very glad of the fact that Nevada is one of the important states in the Union and we think of it, not merely in terms of minerals, or crops, but in terms of human beings. That is why we have been trying to have a national policy that thinks in terms of human beings.

I think you know almost everybody on the platform here, the Governor, the Senator (Pat McCarran), Al Hilliard, Jim Scrugham and, let us see who else is here -- Oh, come on out and show yourself. I have got a shrinking violet here, "Judge" George Allen, Commissioner of the District of Columbia. (Laughter)

Somebody suggested to me that Nevada should be known also for something and he made a large sized bet that not one newspaper man on this train, from outside of the State of Nevada, knows anything about it. Nevada has one of the greatest naval bases of the United States within its borders. That is pretty good for a state that is a good many hundred miles from salt water and has mighty little fresh water.

Now, that will settle that question. They (the newspaper men) are all back there in the club car, you know, writing their

stories and what I am saying here into this microphone is relayed back to them so that they may sit at ease in their comfortable chairs back there. (Laughter) As a matter of fact, when they get out, it is only to get a little fresh air. Now, having told them this story about this great naval base in the State of Nevada, I am not going to tell them anything more about it; they will have to find out about it from the encyclopedia.

It is good to see you all and I am glad to see what I believe are pretty distinct signs of prosperity and, as the Governor has indicated, it is not just a temporary prosperity but something of the kind we are looking for, that will last not just through this year or next year but for all the years to come.

I am proud of the Nevada spirit, of the fine spirit in the State, and I hope to come back and see you all very soon.

I have got to go back inside because I am told there are quite a lot of telegrams waiting for me and I might have to send some answers before I leave. Good night.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
From the Rear Platform of his Special Train
Reno, Nevada
July 13, 1938, 6.52 P.M.

(There were about 15,000 people in the audience.)

It is good to see you all and I am glad to be back in Nevada. (Applause)

I should say, from seeing things today from the train, that there is a certain amount of prosperity in this State, at least. (Applause)

I have been especially interested in studying with your Governor the problem of water in the State. We need more of it and we people in Washington are doing all we can to help by increasing the water supply for the use of farms and inhabitants of this State. (Applause)

I wish I could stay here longer but the train is stopping, I think, only for a minute. I am on a "look-see" trip, trying, as I do every year, to get a first-hand impression of various parts of the Union. In about two or three days I will be off on the Pacific, fishing. I think I will get bigger fish than I can get in the State of Nevada. (Applause) But I won't get any fish that taste as good as the trout I had for lunch today. (Applause)

It is good to see you all. Good night.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Treasure Island, San Francisco Bay
July 14, 1938, about 2.30 P.M.

GOVERNOR MERRIAM, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

Rarely, perhaps never, in my life have I been as thrilled as I have today, starting with the visit to my old friends of nearly a quarter of a century ago at the Mare Island Navy Yard, and then that trip by motor over wonderful highways to that view of your two new bridges that I had never seen before. And then that wonderful reception all along the line of march.

I think that you people out here on the Coast, when you start to do something do it better than anyone else in the United States. (Applause) And then, coming down from what I used to call Goat Island in the old days, although I believe it had a more official and more beautiful name, to this Island with its wonderful buildings that already prove what the Exposition is going to look like next year, all I can tell you is that I await the passage of months before I come back here to see it all. (Applause)

Confidence that in (the) that year of 1939 the United States and all the Western Hemisphere will be at peace is shown by the fact that in this Nation two great international expositions are about to be held.

It is our hope and our expectation that that confidence is well placed -- and that the very fact of holding these two expositions means an added impetus to the cause of world peace. Great gatherings of such a nature make for trade, for better understanding and for renewed good will between the Nations of the world.

It has been suggested by those on the Pacific Coast and on the Atlantic Coast that it was a mistake to hold two expositions (the same) in one year -- but I cannot agree with (this) that because it seems to me that each is a supplement to the other. Thousands of Americans (will plan) are already planning to visit both of (them this summer) the expositions next year -- to see both ends of our wide Nation and perhaps to travel one way by the all-American route via the Panama Canal. (Applause)

Furthermore, those who visit us from other countries will be stimulated to cross our country, the way I try to do every year that passes. Too often we are judged by those from other lands who spend a few hurried (days or) weeks or even days on one seaboard and think they know America.

At New York the other day I suggested, furthermore, that we Americans much wish that many more people from other nations would come to visit us. We Americans have the travel habit and we wish that (they) other people would acquire it. The more of them who visit us next year the happier we shall be.

In the construction of the Golden Gate International Exposition, the Federal Government has been glad, glad and happy to be of material assistance to your plans.

In addition to the allotment by the Congress of (one and) a million and a half (million) dollars, I am told that you have received nearly five million dollars in the form of useful work paid for (from) by WPA funds, and nearly another two million dollars in equally useful work paid for from Public Works funds -- in other words, total Federal assistance of more than eight and a quarter million dollars.

I am glad that the Federal Government has been able so greatly to help the fine spirit which throughout the western states encouraged and is encouraging this undertaking. And I am glad, too, that we have been able to help the State of California and the municipalities around San Francisco Bay in the construction of the two great bridges (which I have seen) that I saw today for the first time. (They) Those bridges form a magnificent illustration of the new saying that "what nature has put asunder, man can join together." (Applause)

In another two hours I hope to review the United States Fleet, now at anchor in this great American harbor. (It) That Fleet is not merely a symbol -- it is a potent, ever-ready fact in the national defense of the United States. (Applause)

Every right-thinking man and woman in (the United States) our country wishes that it were safe for the Nation to spend less of our national budget on our armed forces. All know that we are faced with a condition and not a theory -- and that (the) that condition is not of our own choosing. Money spent on armaments does not create permanent income-producing wealth, and about the only satisfaction that we can take out of the present world situation is that the proportion of our national income that we spend on armaments is only a quarter or a third of the proportion that most of the other great nations of the world are spending all at once at this time.

We fervently hope for the day when the other leading nations of the world will realize that their present course must inevitably lead (them) to disaster. We stand ready to meet them, (and) to encourage them in any efforts they may make toward a definite reduction in world armament.

The year 1939, next year would go down in history not only as the year of the two great American World's Fairs, but would be a year of world-wide rejoicing if (it) that year could also mark definite steps toward permanent world peace. That, my friends, that is (the hope and) the prayer of the overwhelming number of men and women and children in all the earth today. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Los Angeles, California
Saturday, July 16, 1938, 9.00 A.M.

I am very glad to come back to Los Angeles. I shall always remember the wonderful reception that was given me here three years ago when I was starting on another fishing trip.

Yesterday I had a very wonderful day in the Yosemite, the first time I had ever seen it. I was sorry that I did not have a chance to see the new acreage, the new grove or, rather, the very old grove of sugar pines which the Federal Government, because of the persistence of Senator McAdoo, is adding to the Yosemite Park.

And, by the way, last March -- I think it was early in March --there was some question about a certain gentleman running again for the Senate, an old colleague of mine of the Wilson administration days. I wrote him a letter and I told him that I hoped very definitely that he would run for reelection to the Senate.

And I might add that that meant that I hoped he would get reelected, too.

I wish I could shake hands personally with the Reception Committee of two thousand. The Mayor pulled a fast one that time.

It is good to be back and I hope to come back again, without any question, in 1939. Many thanks.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
San Diego, California
July 16, 1938

MY FRIENDS OF SAN DIEGO:

I am very grateful to you for giving me this opportunity to take part today in the dedication of this great Civic Center, and I am especially happy to have a representation of it on top of this gold key. I like the building and I like especially the motto on the face of it, "The Noblest Motive is the Public Good." I think that if we all carried that motto in our hearts in every city and community of the land, there is no question that democracy, American democracy will survive. (Applause)

I was saying to Senator McAdoo on the way down that, in a sense, I feel like the Godfather of San Diego, (laughter) because, in the early days of the Wilson administration, when Senator McAdoo was Secretary of the Treasury and our old friend, Ambassador Daniels, was Secretary of the Navy, I was sent out here, sent out from Washington to look over this harbor and I think it was, at least in part, the result of my report on San Diego that we undertook to make this one of our major Navy bases. We have never regretted it since. (Applause) Also, as you know, this is definitely one of the starting points of my fishing trips. (Applause) I hope this will not be the last one. (Applause)

I am delighted to see so many of my old friends, whom I have known here and in Washington in bygone days, and especially that very great citizen of San Diego and of the United States, Mr. Justice Clark. I am glad to see him. (Applause)

Many thanks for this splendid welcome you have given me. I am proud of San Diego and I am proud of this latest achievement of San Diego, proud of the fact that the Federal Government has been able to help your community in the erection of this great Civic Center.

And so, my friends, I shall always remember this day, and I hope to come back next year and see you again.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
(From the Rear Platform of his Special Train)
Pensacola, Florida
August 9, 1936, 7.40 P.M.

(The President was introduced by Mayor Hagler of Pensacola.)

MR. MAYOR, MY FRIENDS OF PENSACOLA:

I am glad to come back here after these many years. I am glad to see the splendid progress that has been made here since 1914.

I remember coming here that year on a mission. I was sent here by the Secretary of the Navy, Secretary Daniels, to find out why the previous Republican administration had closed the Pensacola Navy Yard. And, after looking it over, I found a very good use for it, to make it an air training station.

We are very proud of the work that has been done here and very proud of the work that is being done here. We regard it as an ideal spot and we regard it, incidentally, as one of the most successful air training stations in the whole world.

I have been fishing, as you know. We have caught a great many fish off a great many different islands and different lands but I am very glad to get back into the limits of the Continental United States again.

I am glad to see here at least two Governors, the Governor of Alabama and the Governor of Louisiana, but I am sorry indeed that my old friend, Governor Cone, (of Florida) is prevented by illness from being here tonight.

I hope to come back to Pensacola one of these days to see the completion of all this work. You are doing a fine job; I am keen

about the place, I am keen about its people, and I am keen about its future.

Many thanks.

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
At a Luncheon with the Patients of Warm Springs Foundation
Georgia Hall, Warm Springs Foundation
Warm Springs, Georgia, August 10, 1938, about 2.00 P.M.

This little visit of mine was a bit of a surprise; this had not been planned in March when I was here. We were able to do it because I found that the quickest route from catching fish on the Pacific Ocean was to come back by way of Warm Springs. I have been telling people that there is only one fly in the ointment. Down there on the Equator, on what are called the Galapagos Islands, it is about ten degrees cooler than it is in Georgia.

We are very much honored in having today as guests of Warm Springs Governor Rivers, who is an old friend of ours, and also a gentleman who I hope will be the next Senator from this State, Lawrence Camp.

This year I am making up for 1937. You will remember in 1937 I could only get down here in the Spring and could not get here in the Autumn, but this is my second visit in 1938 and I am coming back I hope, if everything goes well, in November for a couple of weeks and at that time we will have the annual Thanksgiving Dinner when there is a grand entertainment and most of us eat too much.

It is good to get this glimpse of you and I hope to see you again very soon.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Barnesville, Georgia
Thursday, August 11, 1938

GOVERNOR RIVERS, SENATOR GEORGE, SENATOR RUSSELL, AND MY NEIGHBORS
OF GEORGIA:

I am glad to come back to Barnesville and the next time
I come to Georgia I hope you will have a good road between here
and Warm Springs. Although I have been here before, today is the
first time that I learned that Dick Russell came here to college
and I must say that it must be a pretty good college.

Fourteen years ago a democratic Yankee, a comparatively
young man, came to a neighboring county in (your) the State of
Georgia, came in search of a pool of warm water wherein he might
swim his way back to health, and he found it. The place -- Warm
Springs -- was at that time a rather dilapidated small summer
resort. But his new neighbors there extended to him the hand of
genuine hospitality, welcomed him to their firesides and made him
feel so much at home that he built himself a house, bought himself
a farm and has been coming back ever since. (Applause) (And) Yes,
he proposes to keep to that good custom. I intend (to keep on)
coming back very often. (Applause)

In those days, there was only one discordant note in that
first stay of mine at Warm Springs: When the first of the month
bill came in for electric light (for) in my little cottage I found
that the charge was eighteen cents (per) a kilowatt hour -- about
four times as much as I (paid in) was paying in another community,
Hyde Park, New York. And that light bill started my long study
of proper public utility charges for electric current, (and) started

in my mind the whole subject of getting electricity into farm homes throughout the United States.

And so, my friends, it can be said with a good deal of truth that a little cottage at Warm Springs, Georgia, was the birth-place of the Rural Electrification Administration. Six years ago, in 1932, there was much talk (of) about the more widespread and the cheaper use of electricity, but it is only since March 4, 1933, that your Government has reduced that talk to practical results. Yes, electricity is a modern necessity of life (and) not a luxury. That necessity ought to be found in every village, in every home and on every farm in every part of the wide United States. The dedication of this Rural Electrification Administration project in Georgia today is a symbol of the progress we are making -- and, my friends, we are not going to stop. (Applause)

As you know, when I want to go somewhere I generally try to choose the most direct route but I slipped up this time. I wanted to come to Georgia, but I had to come via California, the Galapagos Islands, the Equator, the Panama Canal and Pensacola. But, before I left on that trip about (one) a month ago, I invited a group of distinguished, broad-minded Southerners to meet in Washington to discuss the economic conditions, the problems of the South. And, when they met I said this to them:

"My intimate interest in all that concerns the South is, I believe, known to all of you; but this interest is far more than a sentimental attachment born of a considerable residence in your section and of close personal friendship for so many of your people. It proceeds even more from my feeling of responsibility toward the

whole Nation. It is my conviction that the South presents right now, in 1938, the Nation's No. 1 economic problem -- the Nation's problem, not merely the South's. For we have an economic unbalance in the Nation as a whole, due to this very condition (of) in the South itself.

"It is an unbalance that can and must be righted, righted for the sake of the South and of the Nation." (Applause)

The day before yesterday when I landed in Florida I received the report and the recommendations based on (their) the advice of this distinguished commission (-- and these will be made public in the course of the next day or two. I commend a careful reading of this document to all of you.) This report and the recommendations will be made public in the course of the next day or two and I hope you will read it.

It is well said that this report "presents in only a small degree the manifold assets and advantages possessed by the South" because the report is concerned primarily not with boasting about what the South has but in telling (with) what the South needs. It is a short report divided into fifteen short sections and it covers in a broad way subjects of vital importance, such as economic resources, soil, water, population, private and public income, education, health, housing, labor, ownership and use of land, credit, use of natural resources, industry and purchasing power.

I am listing those fifteen headings with a definite purpose in mind. The very fact that it is necessary to divide the economic needs of the South into fifteen important groups -- each one a problem in itself -- proves to you and to me that if you and

I are to cover the ground effectively there is no one single simple answer. It is true that many obvious needs ought to be attained quickly -- such as the reduction of discriminatory freight rates (applause), such as putting a definite floor under industrial wages (applause), such as continuing to raise the purchasing power of the farm population. (Applause) But, my friends, no one of these things alone, no combination of a few of them will meet the whole of the problem. Talking in fighting terms, we cannot capture one hill and claim to have won the battle because the battlefield extends over thousands of miles and we must push forward along the whole (length of its) front at the same time.

That is why the longer I live the more am I convinced that there are two types of political leadership which are dangerous to the continuation of broad economic and social progress all along (the) that long battlefield. The first type of political leadership which is dangerous to progress is represented by the man who harps on one or two remedies or proposals and claims that these one or two remedies will cure all our ills. It just does not make sense. And the other type of dangerous leadership is represented by the man who says that he is in favor of progress but whose record shows that he hinders or hampers or tries to kill new measures of progress. ^(He) He is that type of political leader who tells his friends that he does not like this or that or the other detail end, at the same time, he utterly fails to offer a substitute that is practical or worthwhile.

The task of meeting the economic and social needs of the South, on the broad front that is absolutely necessary, calls for

public servants whose hearts are sound, whose heads are sane -- whose hands are strong, striving everlastingly to better the lot of their fellowmen. (Applause)

(This, then, is the) The report which I referred to is a synopsis -- a clear listing of the economic and social problems of the Southland. It suggests the many steps that must be taken to solve (the) that problem(s).

Some of these steps, some of them, it is true, can be taken by state governments but you will readily realize that action by the states alone, even if such action on the part of many neighboring states could be simultaneous(ly) and immediate(ly) (obtained) would be wholly inadequate. The very good reason for that is that most of these problems involve interstate relationships, relationships not only between the states of this region but also between each and all of these states and the rest of the Nation.

It is not an attack on state sovereignty for me to point out that this national aspect of all these problems requires action by the Federal Government in Washington. I do not hesitate to say from a long experience that during the past five years there has been a closer and more effective peacetime cooperation between the Governors of the forty-eight states and the President of the United States than at any other time in our whole national history. (Applause) And I acknowledge my obligation for the splendid cooperation on the part of Governor Rivers of Georgia. (Applause)

You are familiar enough with the processes of Government to know that the Chief Executive cannot take action on national or regional problems unless they have been first translated into Acts

of Congress passed by the Senate and the House of Representatives
of the United States.

Such action by the Congress, it is equally clear, must be vigorously supported by the Senators and Representatives whose constituents are directly concerned with Southern economics and Southern (social) economic needs. Senators and Congressmen who are not wholeheartedly in sympathy with these needs cannot be expected to give them vigorous support. (Applause)

Translating that into more intimate terms, it means that if the people of the State of Georgia want definite action in the Congress of the United States, they must send to that Congress Senators and Representatives who are willing to stand up and fight -- (applause) fight night and day for Federal statutes drawn to meet actual needs -- not something (which) that serves merely to gloss over the evils of the moment, gloss them over for the time being, but laws with teeth in them (which) that will go to the root of the problem(s); which remove the inequities, raise the standards and, over a period of years, give constant improvement to the conditions of human life in this State. (Applause)

You, the people of Georgia, in the coming Senatorial primary, for example, have a perfect right to choose any candidate you wish. (Applause) I do not seek to impair that right (applause) and I am not going to impair that right of the people of this State, -- but because Georgia has been good enough to call me her adopted son and because for many long years I have regarded (Georgia) this State as my "other state," I feel no hesitation in telling you what I would do if I could vote here next month. (Applause) And, my friends, I

am strengthened in that decision to give you my personal opinion of the coming Senatorial primary by the fact that during the past few weeks I have had many requests from distinguished citizens of Georgia -- from people high and low -- from the Chief Justice of the highest court of Georgia and (from many,) many others.

And let me preface my statement by saying that I have personally known three of the candidates for the United States Senate for many years. All of them have had legislative or executive experience as Government servants. We may therefore justly consider their records and their public utterances -- and we can justly, also, seek to determine for ourselves what is their inward point of view in relationship to present and future problems of government.

It has been pointed out by writers and speakers who do not analyze public questions very deeply that in passing through the State of Kentucky a month ago I gave as a reason for the reelection of Senator Barkley that he had had very long and successful service in the Congress of the United States and that his opponent did not have that experience. In Kentucky, there was no clear-cut issue between a liberal on the one side and a died-in-the-wool conservative on the other. (Applause) Neither (gentleman) of the two principals on his record could be classified as a reactionary; and, therefore, the criterion of experience, especially that of the Majority Leadership of the Senate of the United States, weighed heavily, and properly, in favor of Senator Barkley.

Here in Georgia, however, my old friend, the senior Senator from this State, cannot possibly in my judgment be classified as belonging to the liberal school of thought (applause) -- and, therefore,

the argument that he has long served in the Senate, I think, falls by the wayside. Here in Georgia the issue is a different one from that in Kentucky. (Applause)

I speak seriously and in the most friendly way in terms of liberal and conservative for the very simple fact, and I am sure you will recognize that on my shoulders rests a responsibility to the people of (this country) the United States. (Twice) In 1932 and again in 1936 I (have been) was chosen Chief Executive with the mandate, the mandate to seek by definite action to correct many evils of the past and of the present; to work for a wider distribution of national income, to improve the conditions of life, especially among those who need it most and, above all, to use every honest effort to keep America in the van of social and economic progress.

To the Congress of the United States I make recommendations -- that is all -- in most cases recommendations relating to objectives of legislation -- leaving it to the Congress to translate the recommendations into law. The majority of the Senate and House have agreed with those objectives and have worked with me and I have worked with them to translate those objectives into action. Some have given "lip service" to some of the objectives but have not raised their little fingers actively to attain the (action itself) objectives themselves. (Applause) Too often these few have listened to the dictatorship of (the) a small minority of individuals and corporations who oppose the objectives themselves. That, my friends, is a real dictatorship (Audience: That is right.) and one (which) that I am glad to say we have been getting away from slowly but surely during the past five years. (Applause) And just as long as I live, as long as I live you

will find me fighting against any kind of dictatorship (applause)-- especially (that) the kind of dictatorship (which) that has enslaved (millions of our people) many of our fellow citizens for more than half a century.

Now, my friends, what I am about to say will be no news, no startling news to my old friend -- and I say it with the utmost sincerity -- Senator Walter George. It will be no surprise to him because I have recently had personal correspondence with him and, as a result of it, he fully knows what my views are.

Let me make it clear -- let me make something very clear that he is, and I hope always will be, my personal friend. He is beyond question, beyond any possible question, a gentleman and a scholar (applause) -- but (so also) there are other gentlemen in the Senate and in the House for whom I have (an) a real affectionate regard but with whom I differ heartily and sincerely on the principles and policies of how the Government of the United States (should be directed) ought to be run.

For example, I have had an almost lifelong acquaintance and great personal friendship for people like Senator Hale (of) from the State of Maine, for Representative James Wadsworth of New York and for the Minority Leader, Representative Snell. All of these lifelong conservative Republicans are gentlemen and scholars -- but they and I learned long ago that our views on public questions were just as wide apart as the (poles) the North Pole and the South.

And, therefore, I repeat that I trust and am confident that Senator George and I will always be good personal friends even though I am impelled to make it clear that on most public questions

he and I do not speak the same language. (Applause)

To carry out my responsibility as President, it is clear that if there is to be success in our Government there (should) ought to be cooperation between members of my own party and myself, -- cooperation, in other words, within the majority party, between one branch of Government, the Legislative branch, and the executive head of the other branch, which is the Executive. That is one of the essentials of a party form of government. It has been going on in this country for nearly a century and a half. The test is not measured, in the case of an individual, by his every vote on every bill -- of course not. The test lies rather in the answer to two questions: first, has the record of the candidate shown, while differing perhaps in details, a constant active fighting attitude in favor of the broad objectives of the party and of (the) Government as they are constituted today and, secondly, does the candidate really, in his heart, deep down in his heart, believe in (the) those objectives? And I regret that in the case of my friend, Senator George, I cannot honestly answer either of these questions in the affirmative. (Applause)

And, my friends, in the case of another candidate in the State of Georgia for the United States Senate -- former Governor Talmage (boos) -- I have known him in the State of Georgia for many years. His attitude toward me and toward other members of the Government in 1935 and in 1936 concerns me not at all. (Applause) But, my friends, in those years and in this year I have read so many of his proposals, so many of his promises, so many of his panaceas that I am very certain in my own mind that his election would contribute very little to practical progress in government. And, my friends,

that is all that I can say about him.

The third candidate that I would speak of, United States Attorney Lawrence Camp, (applause) I have also known for many years. He has had experience in the State Legislature, he has served as Attorney General of Georgia and for four years he has made a distinguished record in the United States District Court, his office ranking among the first two in the whole (nation) of the United States in the expedition of Federal cases (before) in that Court. I regard him not only as a public servant with successful experience but as a man who honestly believes that many things must be done and done (applause) now to improve the economic (and) improve the social conditions of the country (and), the man who is willing to fight for these objectives. (That) And, my friends, fighting ability is of the utmost importance.

Therefore, answering the requests that ^{have} come to me from many leading citizens of Georgia that I make my position clear, I have no hesitation in saying that if I were able to vote in the September primaries in this State, I most assuredly would cast my ballot for Lawrence Camp. (Applause)

In dedicating this important project today, I want to express once more my abiding faith that we as a nation are moving steadily and surely toward a better way of living for all of our people. This electrification project is a symbol of our determination to attain that objective. But, my friends, it is only one symbol; it is one hill out of ten thousand which must be captured. You and I will never be satisfied until all our economic inequalities

are corrected, until every one of us, North, East, West and South has the opportunity (so) to live, so to live that his education, his job and his home will be secure.

In many countries, in many nations of the world today democracy is under attack by those who charge that democracy fails to provide its people with the needs of modern civilization. I do not -- (and) you do not -- subscribe to that charge. (We) You and I, we, the people of this State and the people of all the states, believe that democracy today is succeeding but that (a) an absolute necessity for its future success is the fighting spirit of the American people -- their insistence that we go forward and not back. (Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia
August 11, 1938

GOVERNOR RIVERS, CHANCELLOR SANFORD, PRESIDENT CALDWELL, AND YOU,
THE MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY AND FRIENDS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GEORGIA:

It is with particular pride in and increased devotion to this State, that I (become today) find myself about to become an alumnus of the University (of Georgia). (Applause) During many years I have had important contacts with your (Trustees and Faculty) Board of Regents, with your Faculty and with many of your graduates, and I can therefore appreciate the (excellent) splendid service which you are rendering to the cause of education not only in the State of Georgia but (in) throughout the Nation.

Many years have gone by since I first came to Warm Springs and got to know and to love the State and its people. For years before that I have heard much of Georgia from the lips of that old friend of mine, George Foster Peabody, who, reversing my process, was born in Georgia and became a citizen of the State of New York. Wherever he lived, wherever he went, there was one thing about Mr. Peabody that stood out and that was his love for humanity. And, so, I am proud today to be receiving a degree that was put through by Mr. Peabody some time before his unfortunate death. I wonder if you, who live here in the State all the time, can realize as well as I, who have been coming here once or twice a year, whether you can realize the amazing progress that has been made (here) in this State in a short decade and a half -- and, if I may be permitted to encore the suggestion of the Governor, especially in the past five years. Now,

if you see a person intimately morning, noon and night, you do not note the changes of growth or of health of that friend as readily as if you see him only at intervals; and that is why I feel that I can speak of Georgia with true perspective.

In my earlier years here I saw a South in the larger sense forgotten, forgotten in the midst of an unhealthy national speculation -- a boom (period) era which thought in terms of paper profits instead of human lives. And for those days what has the South to show today? A few great fortunes perhaps, but most of the profits went north.

Then came the tragic years of the depression. Closed banks in almost every community, ruinous crop prices, idle mills, no money for schools or roads -- a picture of despair, and I knew Georgia of those days, too.

Yet, through all those years the South was building a new school of thought -- a group principally recruited from younger men and women who understood that the economy of the South was vitally and inexorably linked with that of the Nation, and that the national good was equally dependent (equally) on the improvement of the welfare of the South. They, those younger men and women, began asking searching questions: -- Why is our pay -- in other words, why is our earning capacity so low? Why are our roads so bad? Why is our sanitation, (and) our medical care so neglected? Why are our teachers so inadequately paid? Why are our local school buildings and equipment so antiquated?

I do not mince words because, first of all, I have a right -- a nation-wide right, a State right and withal a sympathetic and under-

standing right to speak them and, secondly, because you as well as I know them to be true.

It may not be politic but it is good American idealism to recognize, to state boldly that in 1932, six short years ago, the conditions of human life and human living in Georgia and in other states of the lower South were as a whole at the bottom of the national scale. And, at the same time let us rejoice and take pride in the undoubted fact that in these past six years the South has made greater economic and social progress up the scale than at any other period in her long history. (Applause) It is my objective and yours to maintain that march and to accelerate its pace.

On the side of education a long experience teaches us that the improvement of educational facilities is inevitably bound up with economic conditions. Years ago, when I first came to Georgia, I was told by a distinguished citizen of (Georgia) the State that public school education was well provided for because there was a law -- or perhaps it was in the State Constitution itself -- providing that every child should have a full school year -- and that attendance for each school year through all the years of grade school and into the high schools was compulsory. But I soon discovered, as I might have known that I would, discovered that school after school in the rural districts of the State -- and most of (them) the districts are rural districts -- where the school was open only four months or five months a year -- or the school was too small to hold all the children that wanted to go to it, that the school (or) couldn't employ enough teachers -- or where children, whose parents wanted them to work instead of going to school, could stay away from school

with complete immunity. And then I made a discovery: Apparently a law or a clause in the Constitution was not enough. What is law without enforcement? Apparently the Biblical method, the divine method "Let there be light -- and there was light" did not work as mere man's dictum.

And then I began to analyze: Was it due to lack of interest? No, not at all. It was due to lack of money. Every man and woman I talked with deplored the wretched school conditions, wanted better schools, better trained (and), better paid teachers, wanted more teachers, wanted a full school year. But -- the answer was always the same -- we cannot get more money from taxes.

And why not? The answer again is simple: The taxable values were not there. The tax rates were not too low but the actual going values of property were so meagre that when taxes on those values were collected the sum received could not pay for adequate teachers or proper equipment. Public education was therefore dependent on public wealth. And public wealth was too low to support good schools.

That analysis of mine -- made even before I was elected Governor of New York, led my mind to many other questions: Why were land values and therefore taxable values (in Georgia so low?) in this State too low? With that question came a study of land use, of worn-out land, of cheaper fertilizer, of afforestation, of erosion, of crop diversification, of crop prices, of marketing, and of freight rates. And all of (these) those things bore directly on the problem of better schools.

Why were people getting such low pay for a day's work?

That led to a study of purchasing power, of decent wages, of the cost of living, of taxable income, of sound banking, of small merchants. And (these) those things, too, bore directly on the problem of better schools.

In other words, social conditions -- schools and other things that were dependent for support on this same original supply of funds, (and hospitals and clothing and housing and food) hospitals, medical care and better sanitation and those other matters that were dependent in a similar way, clothing and housing and food -- all those other things that we call by the general name of better social conditions -- were intimately dependent on economic conditions -- higher wages, higher farm income and more profits for small businessmen.

So you will see that my thoughts for the South are no new thing. Long before I had any idea of re-entering public life I was planning for better life for the people of Georgia. In (the) these later years I have had some opportunity to practice what I have long preached. (Applause)

Obviously the Federal Government cannot carry the load alone. In education, for example, the Government in Washington has greatly assisted by using the labor of people who really need help to build schoolhouses, to give student aid, and to pay at least a part of the salaries to many teachers. And Washington will help in the days to come, I am confident, by giving some grants in aid to those communities which need them the most. But let us remember well that the Government in Washington should not and cannot rightly subsidize public education throughout the United States. That must remain wholly free, wholly independent. Education should be run by

the states and their subdivisions and not by the Federal Government.

Therefore, in the long run, the best way for your National Government to assist state and local educational objectives is to tackle the national aspects of economic problems -- to eliminate discriminations between one part of the country and another -- to raise purchasing power and thereby create wealth in those sections where it is (far) too low -- to save the waste and the erosion of our natural resources, to encourage each section to become financially independent, to take the lead in establishing social security -- and at the same time to explain to the people in every part that constant progressive action is better, a thousand times better, than following the lead of either those who want to slow up or those who promise they will hand you the moon on a silver platter a week after they are elected. (Applause)

At heart Georgia shows devotion to the principles of democracy. (It) Georgia, like other states, has occasional lapses, but it really does not believe either in demagoguery or feudalism, even though they are dressed up in democratic clothes.

And so, my friends, I am very happy to be with you today.
I am happy to have had even a glimpse of this place. For about fourteen years I have been promising to come over from Warm Springs to Athens and some time ago, a good many years ago, I said that I would not come to Athens until I got a good road from Warm Springs to here.
But that was a very rash speech, as it turned out; the road is not quite through yet but my good friend, the Governor, tells me it is on its way. That was enough for me, so here I am. (Applause)

To be a part of you is a great honor and a great privilege. You of the University are greatly responsible for the manner of meeting the problems of the present. You will be greatly responsible for the future. Well are you doing your part. From today onward I share proudly, more fully, in that part. (Applause)

INFORMAL REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
From the Rear Platform of his Special Train
Greenville, South Carolina
August 11, 1938

(Governor Johnston introduced the President)

GOVERNOR JOHNSTON, MY FRIENDS OF GREENVILLE:

It is a long way around to come from Washington to South Carolina by way of the Pacific, the Galapagos Islands, the Equator, the Panama Canal and Pensacola, Florida. But I got here.

As you people probably know, I have made two speeches today and there was not time nor opportunity to prepare a third speech. Some of you may have heard what I said down in Georgia, at Barnesville. Those of you who did not hear me, I hope will read in the newspapers what I said of some of the economic and social problems of the South; of the necessity of meeting those problems by a consolidation of the interests of all the southern states and then by consolidating those interests with the interests of the whole Nation.

That, my friends, cannot be done without legislation. As President, I cannot do it alone. The Congress of the United States must pass the laws.

That is why, in any selection of candidates for members of the Senate or members of the House of Representatives -- if you believe in the principles for which we are striving: a wider distribution of national income, better conservation of our natural resources, establishment of a floor under wages and the bringing of a larger buying power to the farmers of the Nation -- then I hope you will send representatives to the national legislature who will work toward those ends.

We need not just team work but more team work in the National Capital -- and I believe we are going to get it.

Before I stop -- and I believe the train is pulling out in a minute or two -- I want to suggest two things to you: The first is that a long time ago I promised Governor Johnston that I would come down some time this year to visit the capital of the State of South Carolina. I have never been there but I am coming. The other thing is that I don't believe any family or man can live on fifty cents a day.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
BROADCAST FROM THE WHITE HOUSE
AT THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE
SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

1168

August 15, 1938

*You, my friends, in every walk of life and in every part of the
Nation, who are active believers in Social Security;*

The Social Security Act is three years old today. This is a good vantage point from which to take a long look backward to its beginnings, to cast an appraising eye over what it has accomplished so far, and to survey its possibilities of future growth.

Five years ago the term "social security" was new to American ears. Today it has significance for more than forty million men and women workers whose applications for old-age insurance accounts have been received; this system is designed to assure them an income for life after old age retires them from their jobs.

It has significance for more than twenty-seven and a half million men and women wage earners who have earned credits under State unemployment insurance laws which provide half wages to help bridge the gap between jobs.

It has significance for the needy men, women and children receiving assistance and for their families -- at least two million three hundred thousand all told; with this cash assistance one million seven hundred thousand old folks are spending their last years in surroundings they know and with people they love; more than six hundred thousand dependent children are being taken care of by their own families; and about forty thousand blind people are assured of peace and security among familiar voices.

It has significance for the families and communities to whom expanded public health and child welfare services have brought added protection. And it has significance for all of us who, as citizens, have at heart the security and the well-being of this great democracy.

These accomplishments of three years are impressive, yet we should not be unduly proud of them. Our Government in fulfilling an obvious obligation to the citizens of the country has been doing so only because the citizens require action from their Representatives. If the people, during these years, had chosen a reactionary Administration or a "do nothing" Congress, Social Security would still be in the conversational stage -- a beautiful dream which might come true in the dim distant future.

But the underlying desire for personal and family security was nothing new. In the early days of colonization and through the long years following, the worker, the farmer, the merchant, the man of property, the preacher and the idealist came here to build, each for himself, a stronghold for the things he loved. The stronghold was his home; the things he loved and wished to protect were his family, his material and spiritual possessions.

His security, then as now, was bound to that of his friends and his neighbors.

But as the Nation has developed, as invention, industry and commerce have grown more complex, the hazards of life have become more complex. Among an increasing host of fellow citizens, among the often intangible forces of giant industry, man has discovered that his individual strength and wits were no longer enough. This was true not only of the worker at shop bench or ledger; it was true also of the merchant or manufacturer who employed him. Where heretofore men had turned to neighbors for help and advice, they now turned to Government.

Now this is interesting to consider. The first to turn to Government, the first to receive protection from Government, were not the poor and the lowly -- those who had no resources other than their daily earnings -- but the rich and the strong. Beginning in the nineteenth century, the United States passed protective laws designed, in the main, to give security to property owners, to industrialists, to merchants and to bankers. True, the little man often profited by this type of legislation; but that was a by-product rather than a motive.

Taking a generous view of the situation, I think it was not that Government deliberately ignored the working man but that the working man was not sufficiently articulate to make his needs and his problems known. The powerful in industry and commerce had powerful voices, both individually and as a group. And whenever they saw their possessions threatened, they raised their voices in appeals for government protection.

It was not until workers became more articulate through organization that protective labor legislation was passed. While such laws raised the standards of life, they still gave no assurance of economic security. Strength or skill of arm or brain did not guarantee a man a job; it did not guarantee him a roof; it did not guarantee him the ability to provide for those dependent upon him or to take care of himself when he was too old to work.

Long before the economic blight of the depression descended on the nation, millions of our people were living in wastelands of want and fear. Men and women too old and infirm to work either depended on those who had but little to share, or spent their remaining years within the walls of a poorhouse. Fatherless children early learned the meaning of being a burden to relatives or to the community. Men and women, still strong, still young, but discarded as gainful workers, were drained of self-confidence and self-respect.

The millions of today want, and have a right to, the same security their forefathers sought -- the assurance that with health and the willingness to work they will find a place for themselves in the social and economic system of the time.

Because it has become increasingly difficult for individuals to build their own security single-handed, Government must now step in and help them lay the foundation stones, just as Government in the past has helped lay the foundation of business and industry. We must face the fact that in this country we have a rich man's security and a poor man's security and that the Government owes equal obligations to both. National security is not a half and half matter; it is all or none.

The Social Security Act offers to all our citizens a workable and working method of meeting urgent present needs and of forestalling future needs. It utilizes the familiar machinery of our Federal-State government to promote the common welfare and the economic stability of the nation.

The Act does not offer anyone, either individually or collectively, an easy life -- nor was it ever intended so to do. None of the sums of money paid out to individuals in assistance or insurance will spell anything approaching abundance. But they will furnish that minimum necessary to keep a foothold; and that is the kind of protection Americans want.

What we are doing is good. But it is not good enough. To be truly national, a social security program must include all those who need its protection. Today many of our citizens are still excluded from old-age insurance and unemployment compensation because of the nature of their employment. This must be set aright; and it will be.

Some time ago I directed the Social Security Board to give attention to the development of a plan for liberalizing and extending the old-age insurance system to provide benefits for wives, widows and orphans. More recently, a National Health Conference was held at my suggestion to consider ways and means of extending to the people of this country more adequate health and medical services and also to afford the people of this country some protection against the economic losses arising out of ill health.

I am hopeful that on the basis of studies and investigations now under way, the Congress will improve and extend the law. I am also confident that each year will bring further development in Federal and State social security legislation - and - that is as it should be. One word of warning, however. In our efforts to provide security for all of the American people, let us not allow ourselves to be misled by those who advocate short cuts to Utopia or fantastic financial schemes.

We have come a long way. But we still have a long way to go. There is still today a frontier that remains unconquered -- an America unreclaimed. This is the great, the nation-wide frontier of insecurity, of human want and fear. This is the frontier -- the America -- we have set ourselves to reclaim.

This Third Anniversary would not be complete if I did not express the gratitude of the Nation to those splendid citizens who so greatly helped me in making social security legislation possible and to those patriotic men and women, both employers and employees, who in their daily activities are today making social security work.

First of all, to the first woman who has ever sat in the Cabinet of the United States -- Miss Frances Perkins -- then and now the Secretary of Labor. Then to the unselfish Commission of men and women who, in 1934, devoted themselves to the almost super-human task of studying all manner of American problems, of examining legislation already attempted in other nations, and of coordinating the whole into practical recommendations for legislative action.

Finally, I thank publicly, as I have so often thanked them privately, four men who have had long and distinguished careers in the public service -- Congressman David J. Lewis of Maryland, who is known as one of the American pioneers in the cause of Social Security; Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, who also was long its advocate; Senator Harrison of Mississippi and Congressman Doughton of North Carolina, who carried the bill successfully through the Senate and the House of Representatives. They deserve and have the gratitude of all of us for this service to mankind!

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada
August 18, 1938, 11.15 A.M.

MISTER CHANCELLOR, MISTER PRINCIPAL, LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR, MR. PRIME MINISTER, MY NEW FOUND ASSOCIATES OF QUEENS UNIVERSITY:

To the pleasure of being once more on Canadian soil where I have passed so many (of the) happy hours of my life, there is added today a very warm sense of gratitude for being admitted to the fellowship of this ancient and famous University. I am glad to join the brotherhood which Queen's has contributed and is contributing not only to the spiritual leadership for which the college was established, but also to the social and public leadership in the civilized life of Canada.

An American President, as many of you are aware, is precluded by our Constitution from accepting any title from a foreign Prince, potentate or power. Queen's University is not a Prince or a potentate but, assuredly, it is a power. (Applause) Yet, in spite of that, I can say, without constitutional reserve, that the acceptance of the title which you confer on me today would raise no qualms in the august breast of our own Supreme Court. (Laughter)

Civilization, after all, is not national -- it is international -- even though that observation -- trite as it is to most of us, (is today) seems to be challenged in some parts of the world today. Ideas are not limited by territorial borders; they are the common inheritance of all free people. Thought is not anchored in any land; and the profit of education redounds to the equal benefit of the whole world. That is one form of free trade to which the leaders of every opposing political party can subscribe. (Applause)

In a large sense we in the Americas stand charged today with the maintaining of that tradition. When, speaking (recently) a little over a year ago in a similar vein in the Republic of Brazil, I included the Dominion of Canada in the fellowship of the Americas, our South American neighbors gave hearty acclaim. (Applause) And we in all the Americas know the sorrow and the wreckage which may follow if the ability of men to understand each other is rooted out from among the nations.

Many of us here today know from experience that of all the devastations of war none is more tragic than the destruction which it brings to the processes of men's minds. Truth is denied because emotion pushes it aside. Forebearance is succeeded by bitterness. In that atmosphere human thought cannot advance.

It is impossible not to remember that for years when Canadians and Americans have met they have lightheartedly saluted as North American friends, (without) with little thought of dangers from overseas. Yet we are awake to the knowledge that the casual assumption of our greetings in earlier times today must become a matter for serious thought.

A few days ago a whisper, fortunately untrue, raced round the world that armies standing over against each other in unhappy array were about to be set in motion. In a few short hours the effect of that whisper had been registered in Montreal and New York, in Ottawa and in Washington, in Toronto and in Chicago, in Vancouver and in San Francisco. Your businessmen and ours felt it alike; your farmers and ours heard it alike; your young men and ours wondered what effect this might have on their lives.

We in the Americas are no longer a far away continent, to which the eddies of controversies beyond the seas could bring no interest

or no harm. Instead, we in the Americas have become a consideration to every propaganda office and to every general staff beyond the seas. The vast amount of our resources, the vigor of our commerce and the strength of our men have made us vital factors in world peace whether we choose it or not.

Happily, you and we, in friendship and in entire understanding, can look clear-eyed at these possibilities, resolving to leave no pathway unexplored, (and) no technique undeveloped which may, if our hopes are realized, contribute to the peace of the world. Even if those hopes are disappointed, we can assure each other that this hemisphere at least shall remain a strong citadel wherein civilization can flourish unimpaired. (Applause)

The Dominion of Canada is part of the sisterhood of the British Empire. I give to you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other Empire. (Prolonged applause)

We as good neighbors are true friends because we maintain our own rights with frankness, because we refuse to accept the twists of secret diplomacy, because we settle our disputes by consultation and because we discuss our common problems in the spirit of the common good. We seek to be scrupulously fair, (and) to be helpful not only in our relations with each other but each of us at home in our relations with our own people.

But there is one process which we certainly cannot change and probably ought not to change. This is the feeling which ordinary men and women have about events which they can understand. We cannot prevent our people on either side of the border from having an opinion

in regard to wanton brutality, in regard to undemocratic regimentation, in regard to misery inflicted on helpless peoples, or in regard to violations of accepted individual rights. All that any government constituted as is yours and mine, can possibly undertake is to help make sure that the facts are known and fairly stated. No country where thought is free can prevent every fireside and every home within its borders from considering the evidence for itself and rendering its own verdict; and the sum total of these conclusions of educated men and women will, in the long run, rightly become the national verdict.

(Applause)

So, that is what we mean when we say that public opinion ultimately governs policy. It is right and just that this should be the case.

Many of our ancestors, your ancestors and mine and, by the way, I have loyalist blood in my veins too (applause) -- our ancestors came to Canada and the United States because they wished to break away from systems which forbade them to think freely and their descendants have insisted on the right to know the truth -- to argue their problems to a majority decision, and, if they remained unconvinced, to disagree in peace. As a tribute to our likeness in that respect, I note that the Bill of Rights in your country and in mine is substantially the same. (Applause)

Mr. Chancellor, you of Canada who respect the educational tradition of our democratic continent will ever maintain good neighborship in ideas as we in the public service hope and propose to maintain it in the field of government and of foreign relations. My good friend, the Governor General of Canada, in receiving an honorary degree in June

at that University at Cambridge, Massachusetts, to which Mackenzie King and I both belong, (laughter and applause) suggested that we cultivate three qualities to keep our foothold in the shifting sands of the present -- the three qualities of humility, humanity and humor. (Applause) (All three of them) I have been thinking in terms of a bridge which is to be dedicated this afternoon and so I could not help coming to the conclusion that all of these three qualities, humility, humanity and humor, imbedded in education, build new spans to reestablish free intercourse throughout the world and bring forth an order in which free nations can live in peace. (Prolonged applause)

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
At the Dedication of the International Thousand Islands Bridge
Near Clayton, New York
Thursday, August 18, 1938, 3.15 P.M.

MY FELLOW BRIDGE BUILDER, MR. MACKENZIE KING, AND YOU, THOUSANDS OF
YOU, WHO ARE HERE TODAY REPRESENTING MILLIONS OF OTHER BRIDGE BUILDERS
ON BOTH SIDES OF THE INTERNATIONAL LINE:

(Mr. Prime Minister) It has always seemed to me that the best symbol of common sense was a bridge. Common sense is sometimes slow in getting into action, and perhaps that is why we took so long to build this one.

It is a particular pleasure to me to meet you here, where a boundary is a gateway and not a wall. Between these islands an international gap, never wide, has been spanned, as gaps usually are, by the exercise of ability, guided by cooperative common sense. I hope that all (our) my countrymen will use it freely. And I know that they will find, as I have done today and on many other occasions, a happy welcome on (either) the Canadian shore, and forthright fellowship (from) with neighbors who are also friends.

The St. Lawrence River is more than a cartographic line between our two countries. God so formed North America that the waters of an inland empire drain into the Great Lakes Basin. The rain (which) that falls in (this) that vast area finds outlet through this single natural funnel, (above) close to which we now stand.

Events of history have made that river a boundary, and as a result the flow of these waters can be used only by joint agreement between our two governments. Between us, therefore, we stand (therefore)

as trustees for two countries, trustees (of) for one of the richest natural assets provided anywhere in the world. The water (which) that runs underneath this bridge spells unlimited power; permits access to raw materials both from this continent and from beyond the seas, and enhances commerce and production.

When a resource of (this) that kind is placed at our very doors, I think the plain people of both countries agree that it is ordinary common sense to make use of it. And, yet up to now the liquid wealth, which flowing water is, has run in large part unused to the sea. I really think that this situation suggests that we can agree upon some better arrangement than merely letting (it) this water contribute a microscopic fraction to the level of the (North) Atlantic Ocean. (Applause) The bridge which we here dedicate is a tangible proof that administration by two neighbors of a job to be done in common offers no difficulty. Obviously the same process applied on the larger scale to the resource of full sea-going navigation and of complete power development offered by the St. Lawrence River can build and maintain the necessary facilities to employ its magnificent possibilities.

I suppose it is true, as it has been true of all natural resources, that a good many people would like to have the job -- and the profits -- of developing it (for) by themselves, and for themselves. In this case, however, the river happens to be placed in the hands of our two governments, and the responsibility, the trusteeship, for getting the results lies plainly at our doors.

At various times both the people of Canada and the people of the United States have dreamed of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes

development. They have translated those ideas into plans, plans which with modern engineering skill (which) can easily and readily be carried out. While there has been no difference between us as to the object itself, history compels me to say that we (were) have not been able to arrange matters so that both peoples have had the same idea at the same time. (Laughter -- applause) I offer a suggestion: How would it do for a change, if, instead of each of us having the idea at alternate intervals, we should get the idea simultaneously. (Applause) (I think) And I am very much inclined to believe that we are rapidly (reaching) approaching that happy and desirable event. (Applause)

There are many prophets of evil. There always have been before anything was done. I am very clear, for example, that prophets of trouble are wrong when they express the fear that the St. Lawrence Waterway will handicap our railroad systems on both sides of the border. We know now that the effect of a waterway in most cases is not to take traffic away from railroad lines. Actually, it creates new possibilities, new business(es) and new activity. Such a waterway generates more railroad traffic than it takes away.

There is, as we know, there is today, a fourteen foot channel carrying traffic from the Great Lakes through the St. Lawrence River into the Atlantic Ocean. If this channel were improved and deepened -- which again can easily be done -- deepened to twenty-seven or thirty feet, every city in both nations on the Great Lakes and on the whole course of navigation from the sea to the lakes, (now inland) would become an ocean port. The banks of the St. Lawrence itself, the banks of the St. Lawrence Valley would become one of the great gateways of the world and would benefit accordingly. Here all that is needed is

cooperative exercise of technical skill by joint use of the imagination and the vision which (our two) we know both our countries have. Can anyone doubt that, when this is done, the interests of both countries will be greatly advanced? Do we need to delay, (and) do we need to deprive our peoples of the immediate employment and profit, or prevent our generation from reaping the harvest (which is awaiting us) that awaits us? (Applause)

Now, my friends, let me make (now) an unusual statement. I am sure (you will not misunderstand) that on neither side of the line will you misunderstand me. I consider that I have, myself, a particular (duty in connection with St. Lawrence power.) interest in the St. Lawrence, an interest dating back to my earliest days in the Legislature of the State of New York in 1911. And I have a particular duty as President in connection with the development of the St. Lawrence, both for navigation and for power. The almost unparalleled opportunity which the river affords has not gone unnoticed by some of my friends on (our) the American side of the (boundary) border. A conception has been emerging in the United States which is not without a certain magnificence. This is no less than the conviction that if a private group could control the outlet of the Great Lakes Basin on both sides of the border, that group would have a monopoly in the development of a territory larger than many of the great empires in history.

If you were to search the records with which my Government is familiar, you would discover that literally every development of electric power, save only the Ontario-Hydro, is allied to, if not controlled by, a single American group, with, of course, the usual surrounding penumbra of allies, affiliates, subsidiaries and satellites.

(Laughter -- applause) In earlier stages of development of natural resources on this continent, this was normal and usual. But, in recent decades (however) we have come to realize the implications to the public -- to the individual men and women, to businessmen, big and little, and even to government itself, resulting from the ownership by any group of the right to dispose of wealth which was granted to us collectively by nature herself. (Applause)

The development of natural resources, and the proper handling of their fruits, is a major problem of government. Naturally, no solution would be acceptable to either (country) nation which does not leave its government entirely master in its own house.

To put it bluntly, a group of American interests is here gradually putting itself into a position where, unless caution is exercised, they may in time be able to determine the economic and the social fate of a large area, both in Canada and the United States.

Now it is axiomatic in Canadian-American relations that both of us scrupulously respect the right of each of us to determine (its own affairs) our own internal affairs. For that reason, when I know that the operation of uncontrolled American economic forces is slowly producing a result on the Canadian side of the border, which I know very well must eventually give American groups a great influence over Canadian development, I consider it the part of a good neighbor to give my opinion out loud, to discuss the question frankly with my Canadian neighbors. Yes, the least I can do is to call attention to the situation as I see it.

Our mutual friendship suggests this course in a matter of development as great and as crucial as that of the St. Lawrence River

and the basin tributary to it. Fortunately among friendly nations today this is increasingly being done. Frank discussion between friends and neighbors is useful and essential. It is obvious today that some economic problems are international, if only because of the sheer weight which the solutions have on the lives of people outside, as well as inside of any one country. To my mind, the development of St. Lawrence navigation and power is such a problem.

I look forward to the day when a Canadian Prime Minister and an American President can meet to dedicate, not a bridge across this water, but the very water itself, to the lasting and productive use of their respective peoples. (Applause) And until that day comes, and I hope it may be soon, this bridge, the Thousand Islands, this garden spot of nature, this bridge stands as an open door. There will be no challenge at the border, (and) there will be no guard to ask a countersign. Where the boundary is crossed the only word must be, "Pass, friend." (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
At the Annual Meeting of the Roosevelt Home Club
At the Home of Moses Smith, Hyde Park, New York
August 27, 1938, 3.50 P.M.

You look just the way you did a year ago. You have not changed at all. You know, after being away for a couple of months it is amazing to come back here and find so little change. There is Spratty (Mayor Spratt), who won't admit it out loud but still hungering after being President, there is John E. Mack, still claiming to be a farmer, there is the old Board of Supervisors, still playing politics, there is old Doc Bowen still running for Congress, and there are the nine school districts in the town of Hyde Park -- haven't got together yet. So it is entirely natural to come back.

Moses (Mr. Smith) of course had to refer to the fishing trip because I told him I had to have a subject to talk about and I told him on the peril of his life not to mention this year the Hyde Park Post Office. (Laughter) We are going to get a new Post Office but the only way we will get it quickly is to buy more postage stamps. Jim Farley told me that and he is in the business. Actually it is a fact. As we get new post offices in every county in the United States, we try to put them in those places that have the largest volume of business, those places that have not got Government buildings in them, and that is why Rhinebeck got theirs allotted last year and Wappingers is getting one this year. I hope that Hyde Park will rate one within the next couple of years.

Now, to go back to fishing: You do not always need a hook to catch a fish. I got a 110-pound sailfish without a hook. It shows that the plea of Spratty (Mayor Spratt) that he did not have a

fishing rod does not mean a thing. As a matter of fact, it was an interesting story. I have got eleven men in the same boat and not a newsreel but a moving picture camera and two other cameras to prove the story.

Way down at a place called Cocos Island, about five hundred miles west of the Panama Canal, we were out fishing, trolling for sailfish and one of them took my line which was out about two hundred feet beyond the boat with a hook and feather on the end. He jumped in the air and, apparently while he was on the end, another sailfish came along and got his beak all snarled up in the line. The fish that got caught on the hook, he got away but the fish that got caught on his nose got hauled in.

As a matter of fact, there has been so much discussion on previous trips about the size and weight and length and species of fish that this year I took a full-fledged scientist with me from the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, Dr. Waldo Schmidt, who was such a -- Waldo Schmidt -- who was such a success that we decided to change the name Smithsonian to "Schmidtsonian." (Laughter)

When we started from San Diego out on the West Coast, we ran down the Coast to Lower California which, as you know, belongs to Mexico and, in talking to Dr. Schmidt that first day, I said: "Is there any particular thing, animal that you would like to find?" He said: "Oh, yes, I am writing a monograph, I have been on it two years, and the one thing I am searching for in these waters of Mexico and the islands of the Pacific -- I want to find a burrowing shrimp."

"Well," I said, "Dr. Schmidt, why leave Washington? Washington is overrun with them. I know that after five years."

However, he not only found a burrowing shrimp on an island called Socorro, two or three hundred miles off the coast of Mexico, but it also turned out to be a new species of burrowing shrimp, so we called it the Schmiddy Shrimp.

Then we went down to the Galapagos Islands. You have read stories of German baronesses going down there and committing murders and finally being murdered. We supposed that going down on the Equator the weather would be warm. Actually, we nearly froze to death because down there, about five hundred miles from the coast of Ecuador, there is a cold current called the Humboldt Current, which is just the opposite of our warm Gulf Stream on the Atlantic Coast. That Humboldt Current comes up from the Antarctic regions and passes through the Galapagos Islands, bounces off them and disappears in the middle of the Pacific. The result was that we had to sleep under blankets every night.

However, it was a grand cruise, a real holiday and notable for the fact that during the entire trip we, in the party, wrote our own newspaper stories. That is why they were so good. (Laughter) We gave them a great deal of fine historical and -- what is the word? -- piscatorial information which the press has never printed before.

Then, on the way back, of course we stopped at Panama and I had a chance to see the greatest, to my mind far and away the greatest, engineering work in the world. I was very lucky because in 1912 when I was in the State Senate, at the close of the session I went down to Panama before they let the water into the Canal, and on that trip I saw the famous Cut through the mountain, and from the top of it it looked as if the trains, great huge trains of dump cars, loco-

motives, steam shovels, they looked like gnats in the middle of this great Cut. Today of course the water is in it and you get no idea of the labor that it took to build that Canal.

Incidentally, I was very happy to note that the American defenses of the Canal had improved very much since I was there three years before. We are getting airplanes and submarines and anti-aircraft guns and various other things to try to make reasonably certain that in case of war, which we are all trying to avoid in every possible way, we will still be able to maintain the link of the Panama Canal between the Atlantic and the Pacific.

Then when I got back to the Continental part of the United States, I went down to my old stamping ground in Georgia and again heard of what they call "politics." And I have been hearing about it ever since. That is one reason why that little foundation up there on top of the hill, that John Mack referred to, is gradually evolving into a house, the object being to have some place in the United States where they won't talk politics.

Incidentally, I got an admission out of the Mayor. He was looking at those stone walls, permanent walls, going up and he said, in a sort of reminiscent way, "You know that is the only building that I have inspected in all these years that had not been partly paid for by the Federal Government." However, as we all know, the contribution that the Federal Government is making through the W.P.A. and the P.W.A. is not only putting people to work, but it is helping every community in the United States to get things which they otherwise could not afford to have. It is true in the greatest city of the Nation, New York, and it is true in the greatest county of the

Nation, Dutchess.

And right along that line I hope -- let me see, there are about five weeks to go -- I hope very much that we taxpayers in Hyde Park are going to be saved, our pocketbooks, about \$300,000. If we do not decide to save that \$300,000. within the next five weeks, by agreeing on some plan to take care of the four or five hundred school children in these districts for whom we have not got adequate facilities -- if we do not do it in the next five weeks, we will be just out of pocket \$300,000. as taxpayers and, eventually, we taxpayers in the town of Hyde Park will have to put up the whole \$300,000. That is a very simple situation.

If the people in this township were made to realize that there are nine school districts affecting 2400 or 2500 children for whom we need accommodations, I am sure that the Democratic processes that we all believe in will so work in the next five weeks that we will be able to get a school project for the township across and save about \$300,000. to our own pockets. Now that, I take it, is just what you and I would call common sense, and I believe that the people, I hope the people who run the school districts and the voters who have to pass on the proposition will vote some way, I don't care how, will vote somehow to save us that money.

That, perhaps, is the old Dutch coming out in me or maybe it is the old Scotch Irish coming out of me, but anyway. I think most people in this town agree that we have got to do something for the children of this town, from almost every part of the town, to give them better educational facilities.

One thing I am glad of is that from now until after election

day I expect to spend the greater part of my time here in Hyde Park. Of course I will make occasional trips to Washington to see that the Government continues as it ought to continue, but I will spend the rest of the time back here where we live.

It is fine to see you again. I greatly appreciate and all the family appreciates these meetings of the Club at Moses Smith's and, as it has been well said, I hope they will continue for many, many years to come.

I might add to the suggestion that has been made about the "Heaven" across the river, that I am very confident that the people in that heaven in Ulster County will be good neighbors to us in Dutchess County. (Applause)

And so I echo the hope that all of us, without exception, will be back here again in the summer of 1939.

I might add one thing with respect to the Mayor of New York and his wife (Mayor LaGuardia): I hope that some day they buy a farm in Dutchess County and become neighbors of ours, too.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Morgantown, Maryland
September 4, 1938

(Representative Gambrill introduced the President.)

My friends, this is no new visit of mine to Southern Maryland. When I was in the Navy Department a great many years ago, I used to come down by water. In those days it was very difficult to get down here by land. Today things have changed very greatly.

I remember that more than ten years ago two old friends of mine became greatly interested in connecting Tidewater Virginia with Southern Maryland. One of them was Steve Gambrill and the other one was Walton Moore, who is now Counsellor of the State Department. I became interested when I came to Washington again in 1933. I came down here today, on a Sunday morning, because I think that Sunday is a good day to try to do something for one's neighbors. You are neighbors of us in the National Capital.

For a long time I have been looking at maps, as you know, and for a long time I have felt that there ought to be for the good not only of the people of Southern Maryland but also for the good of the people of the United States a through road from Baltimore to Richmond -- a cut-off if you like -- a road which, at the same time, would open up to the general traveling public -- and we are traveling more and more every year -- open up this very wonderful section of our country, a country that is good to look at, that is lived in by people who are good citizens. And so I have been very much interested in it, not only from the point of view of you good people who live down here but also because as President of the United States one of my duties is

to try to take care of things as far as I can that represent national needs.

There is one other phase of this proposed bridge across the Potomac and of the other bridges that are proposed further up the Chesapeake, and that is the phase of national defense.

I suppose there is no nation in the world whose people are more peace-loving than the people of the United States. I suppose there is no nation in the world that is more sincerely desirous of keeping out of war. At the same time, you and I know what world conditions are and we do have to think sometimes of national defense against some emergency that may come through no fault of our own in the days to come.

And it is very important in thinking of national defense to see to it that the borders of the United States, the portions of the United States that lie fairly close to the seaboard, shall have proper access in the event of war, access for the conduct of defensive operations. Therefore the whole Chesapeake Bay area is a very vital link in our national defense and the more that we can do to improve communications in this area in peace time the more insurance we are taking out in the event of some possible future invasion.

I am having a very wonderful day getting more acquainted with a portion of the country that I knew before. As you know, I very often go up and down the River on week ends -- week ends when I try not only to rest but also to think things over quietly. And today I am getting a thrill out of this morning's ride. I have been talking with your Representatives -- with the Governor of the State -- and I think we are all one in feeling that this proposed bridge is one of

the things that has got to be done just as fast as we can possibly do it.

And so I hope to come back, perhaps before I leave Washington, to talk at the inauguration, the starting of this bridge across the Potomac River in this neighborhood.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
At Berlin, Maryland
(From his Automobile)
Monday, September 5, 1938

(The President was presented with a marlin fish, which had been caught off the city of Ocean City, Maryland, on the first of June, 1938.)

Some day I am going to come back here and go over to Ocean City and try to catch a marlin.

I am very grateful to you. It will be a fine addition to the collection.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
At Sharptown, Maryland
(From his Automobile)
Monday, September 5, 1938

(The President was introduced by the Mayor.)

I am very glad to be here and I hope some day I will be able to come back and stay with you a little longer.

This is great country through here and I am very fond of the Eastern Shore.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Salisbury, Maryland
September 5, 1938

MR. MAYOR, MY FRIENDS OF SALISBURY:

I am glad to come back here again. And you good people of the Eastern Shore have given me a wonderful reception this morning all the way up from Crisfield. I am glad to get to know this country better and to see the progress that it is making.

Coming up from Crisfield this morning there were three things that stand out in my memory. The first was on a country road, away from any house, by the side of the road, a little old lady standing there holding a big American flag. I said "Good morning" to her and she smiled back. A few miles further on there was a middle-aged gentleman standing beside the road. I said "Good morning" to him and I got no response. And somebody, knowing who he was, I suppose, told me about him. Apparently he is fond of sour pickles and believes what he reads in the Sun papers.

And the third thing that impressed me was the school children -- school children turned out in front of every school because they wanted to see the President of the United States -- not Franklin Roosevelt but the President of their country. And I am glad today that there are so many school children here. I want to say to you school children that it is a mighty good thing to have the high ideals that young people have. But it is only a useful thing if you keep those high ideals all through your lives. I believe with Emerson in the old adage, "Hitch your wagon to a star," but, my friends, when you get older don't cut the traces.

It has been a great experience to come back to the Eastern

Shore. In Berlin I was presented with a very wonderful marlin. Some day I hope to come back, to go to Ocean City and go out in a boat and catch a marlin.

It has been good to be with you today. This is a somewhat informal morning. I have not talked politics and this afternoon at two o'clock I am not going to talk politics; I am going to talk American principles and I hope you will listen in.

It has been good to be with you. Thank you very much.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Denton, Maryland
Monday, September 5, 1938

(Representative Goldsborough introduced the President.)

CONGRESSMAN GOLDSBOROUGH, CONGRESSMAN LEWIS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

This is Labor Day. For two reasons, which I think you will approve, I have accepted the invitation of your Congressman to come to the Eastern Shore of Maryland today. (Applause)

The first reason for coming here is to give you and me a chance to reestablish a fact which we thought was long ago thoroughly established by the Constitution of the United States even if it is denied by some of your newspapers and by some of your candidates for public office. (Applause) That fact, my friends, is --

that the Free State of Maryland, proud of itself and conscious of itself, is also proud and conscious of being a most important part of the United States of America; (Applause)

that what happens in and to the Free State of Maryland matters mightily in and to the United States of America and, under the Constitution, to the Chief Executive and to the Congress of the United States; (Applause)

And finally, that in the Free State of Maryland -- happily a part of the Union -- the Flag, the Constitution and the President are still as welcome as in all of the other

forty-seven States of the Union. (Applause)

The second, and ~~in fact~~, the original reason for my coming here is also related to the unity of (this) the Nation.

Unthinking people may believe that the first Monday in September -- Labor Day -- is set aside in special honor of those who work at a trade in mills and factories and railroads and mines. But that is a narrow interpretation, for this day belongs just as much to those who work with head and hand on the farms of the Nation. There is no distinction between those who run farms or work on farms and those who work in industry. For you and I well know that most of the people in cities have come there comparatively recently from farms all over the country, including the Eastern Shore and Maryland and all the other states and from farms of the Old World across the seas, farms from which originally (we) all of us have (came) come.

America has always had -- and America still has -- a small minority who assume that there are not enough good things to go around to give that minority all that it wants and at the same time to give the rest of America (-- the overwhelming majority of America --) a humane and modern standard of living. Even today that minority is shortsightedly sure that its interests must lie in exploiting all who labor on the farm as well as in the mill and the mine.

But at the same time all over (this) the country the unity of interest of all common men and women -- warm-hearted, simple men and women, willing to live and let live, whether in factory or on farm -- grows steadily more evident. Clearer every day is the

one great lesson of history -- the lesson taught by the Master of Galilee -- that the only road to peace and the only road to a happier and better civilization is the road to unity -- the road called the "Highway of Fellowship." (Applause)

But as this community of interest that I am talking about, as it becomes apparent to those who live on farm and in city, the strategy of the cold-blooded few to divide and conquer, to make common men blind to their common interests, becomes more active. Class conscious itself, just because it does conceive its interest to be opposed to the interest of all other people, that small minority is deliberately trying to create prejudice between this and that group of the common people of America -- to create a new class feeling among people like ourselves, who instinctively are not class conscious.

You in the State of Maryland -- and the people of other states -- have in recent weeks been treated to a number of examples of this deliberate attempt to create prejudice and class feeling which can be charitably explained only (as) by political hysteria. (Applause) But it does not help the cause of Constitutional Government or effective democracy anywhere to laugh off such things in campaign time on the general theory that anything is fair in love and politics. (Applause)

Today above all else (that) the minority is trying to drive a wedge between the farmers on (the) one hand and their relatives and their logical partners in the cities on the other hand. It is trying to narrow the broad definition of "labor" in the mind of the farmer, the farmer who above all people has always known what it meant to

have to labor from sun-up to sun-down. It is trying to make the farmer forget that the people in the cities who, like him, labor for their daily bread are his own people, flesh of his flesh, (and) blood of his blood, Americans just like him. (Applause)

This is, I think, my fourth visit to the Eastern Shore since 1933 -- perhaps more visits than any other President has made; and I have been honored by being given an honorary degree by your own historic Washington (University) College.

You have sent your sons and daughters by the thousands into the industrial world. Your products of farm and fishery go to the greatest city markets of the United States. And you have never lost the sense of the lasting spiritual values (in) of life.

That is why I have wanted to come here on Labor Day and preach a sermon, if you (will) like, on that ancient text "We are all members one of another."

In order to make that relationship a benefit rather than a curse, in order to keep all of our people abreast of each other and in line with the present, our democratic form of government must move forward on many fronts at the same time.

For a dozen years or more prior to 1933, the Federal Government had not moved forward at all. Life was out of balance -- you remember it -- and Government had failed completely to recognize that important social needs call(ed) for action. In a nationwide effort to catch up with lost time, to bring a distant past up to the present, a whole series of new undertakings had to be launched in 1933. But remember well that (these) those undertakings were on a complete front, a front that included American citizens in every

occupation and in every part of the country.

During this process there were of course many people both in private life and (in) public life who did not like to do the things that had to be done. They admitted the existence of certain abuses, yes. But in their hearts they wishfully believed that improvement (should) could come from individual initiative or local initiative without the help of Government. And if improvement could not come without Government action, then they wanted no improvement at all.

People who feel and think like that are what I call "Conservatives," and even "reactionaries." And people who feel that the past (should) ought to be brought up to the present by using every legitimate instrument to do the job, including Government (included), those people I call "liberals" or "progressives."

Any man -- any political party -- has a right to be honestly one or the other. (Applause) But the Nation cannot stand for the confusion of having him pretend to be one and act like the other. (Applause)

A few days ago a brilliant newspaper writer came to the White House and asked me to illustrate the difference between a liberal and a conservative. And I will condense for you what I told her.

For example, I said, "Mr. A" is a composite conservative. "Mr. A" (He) admitted that in 1933, for instance, interest rates charged by private banking to ordinary citizens who wanted to finance a farm or a home were altogether too high; he admitted that there were excesses, sharp practices and abuses in issuing securities and buying and selling stocks (and bonds); he admitted that the hours of work in his factory and a great many other factories were too long;

he admitted that old people, who became destitute through no fault of their own, were a problem; he admitted that national and international economic conditions and speculation had made farming and fishing extremely hazardous occupations; and he even admitted that the buying power of farmers and fishermen had not kept pace with the buying power of many other kinds of workers.

But, (conservative) "Mr. A", conservative "Mr. A", not only declined to take any lead in solving these problems in cooperation with his Government, he (even) found fault with and opposed, openly or secretly, almost every suggestion that was put forward by those who belonged to the liberal school of thought.

"Mr. B", on the other hand, I said, was the composite of a liberal. He not only agreed with "Mr. A" on (admitted) the needs and the problems (like "Mr. A",) but "Mr. B" (he) put his shoulder under the load, he gave active study and active support to working out methods, in cooperation with his Government, for the solving of the problems and the filling of the needs. "Mr. B" did not claim that the remedies were perfect but he knew that we had to start with something less than perfect in this imperfect world of ours. (Applause)

And, my friends, if we have a Government run by the "Mr. A's" of this life, it is obvious that the Nation will slip behind once more in the march of civilization -- bump along from one 1929 crisis to another. And yours is the choice of what kind of a Government you want.

I ran across an interesting thing the other day: Lord Bryce, in the last edition of his (great work) famous book on the American Commonwealth, (said) had this to say: "An eminent

journalist remarked to me in 1908" -- that is thirty years ago -- "that the two great parties were like two bottles. Each bore a label denoting the kind of liquor it contained, but each bottle was empty. This at any rate may be said, that the parties may seem to have erred by neglecting to discover and work out any principles capable of solving the problems (which) that now perplex the country. In a country so full of change and movement as America, new questions are always coming up and must be answered. New troubles surround a government and a way must be found to escape from them; new diseases attack (the) a nation, and have to be cured. The duty of a great party is to face these, to find answers and remedies, applying to the facts of the hour the doctrines it has lived by, so far as they are (still) applicable, (and) but when they have ceased to be applicable, thinking out new doctrines conformable to the main principles and tendencies which it represents."

That quotation from Bryce, that has been my conception of the obligations and ideals of the Democratic Party, for the Democratic Party has always been a party of ideas rather than money, and it has always failed when it has only been one of two empty bottles. (Applause)

Yes, why should not we be frank with each other? It is a great big nation from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Canada to Mexico. The Democratic Party will live and continue to receive the support of the majority of Americans just so long as it remains a liberal party. (Applause) And if it reverts to the situation of thirty or forty years ago, which Lord Bryce described, (more than a quarter of a century ago) it will fail.

As the leader of that party, I propose to try to keep it liberal. (Applause) As President of the United States, I conceive that course to be the best course in the best interests not only of Democrats (alone) but also of those millions of American men and women who are affiliated with other parties or with no party at all. And I have the right, in sincerity and honesty, to make that statement in any state, in any county and in any community of the United States (of America). (Applause)

Increasingly during these past six years a common understanding of what unity means has grown up throughout the land. People have continued to ask their representatives, their executive representatives, their representatives in Legislatures and the Congress, to be liberal, to take the initiative, to be positive forces in improving social and economic conditions. And that applies to farmers just as much as to industrial workers. (Applause)

You who live on the farm or near the farm know well how farmers were exploited by those who controlled Government from the end of the World War down to 1933 -- and by the monopolies they fostered (which) -- monopolies that still give us trouble. But I think you realize also that for many long years industrial labor was exploited too. Farmers have come to realize that unless industrial labor is prosperous it cannot buy the food and the materials for clothing which are produced from the soil. And industrial labor has come to understand that unless the farmers of the country are prosperous they cannot buy the product of the factories.

Economic lesson number one of the past twenty years is that men and women on farms, men and women in cities, are partners.

America cannot prosper unless both groups prosper. That is the keystone in the arch of the economic and social policy of your Administration in Washington.

May I illustrate again by taking some high-spots?

Nearly thirty years ago people who were injured in factories through no fault of their own (in factories) found it difficult, if not impossible, to get adequate compensation for their injuries. A very proper demand arose for workmen's compensation laws. Thanks to the pioneering of a young Maryland legislator, the first Workmen's Compensation Act ever to be passed in the United States was adopted by Maryland. (Applause) Ten years later, I, following (his) this man's lead, was helping to pass a workmen's compensation law through the Legislature of the State of New York.

But what I want to emphasize is that workmen's compensation laws are not for the sole benefit of workmen injured in industry. They confer a definite benefit on farmers because the injured industrial worker is able to get his compensation promptly and continue to buy food for himself and his family. Do you ever think of that? (Applause)

Later on, a good many years later on, in the halls of Washington a young Congressman pushed and pleaded until he got a parcel post law on the statute books of the United States. (Applause) And remember that that parcel post law was of principal benefit to those who in every state lived on R.F.D. routes. But it was not for their benefit alone, for it helped their brothers and sisters who worked in the cities of the country.

And that young Congressman was the same Maryland legislator

of (earlier) former days.

Many years later it became clear that the problem of dependent old age was a trying one, that the states and the Federal Government, that employers and employees, should come together to pass a nationwide old-age pension and unemployment insurance act. Once again the Representative from the Free State of Maryland took the lead and, thanks to his pioneering, decent security of life is assured today to millions of our people. (Applause)

I know that, speaking here to you citizens in Denton, to people who are listening in on the radio all over Maryland. I know that I do not have to name that young man. That man, now well along in mature middle age, I do not have to tell you his name. But, my friends, in forty-seven other states there are people, a total of millions of them, who are listening to what I am saying on this Labor Day, and for their benefit, if they do not know, the name of that man is Representative Lewis of Maryland. (Applause) And, incidentally, people, millions of them in all the other states of the Union, are very proud of him. (Applause)

It is the privilege of some of us to dream dreams, and of some of us to carry out the dreams of others. But in Maryland you are fortunate in having a man who not only has seen visions but has lived to make his dreams come true.

He has (symbolizes) symbolized for the farm and the city alike the inherent humanity of the man who rises from humble circumstances, and the inherent ability to grow in vision and effectiveness in the fertile soil of American opportunity and the American tradition of equality.

It is suggestive to me that he has never forgotten that he learned to read and write at the knee of a Christian minister in Sunday School. And that is why perhaps he has lived the life of the Good Samaritan -- and he has (not) never passed by on the other side. (Applause)

You in Maryland will shortly vote in a primary. The choice in all parties is solely yours -- that goes without saying. But may I express the hope that the choice you make will be the choice of all who are entitled to vote in the primaries -- not the choice of a group, an "organization" group or an "anti-organization" group, not the choice of only part of the voters either in city or in country districts, but the choice of all who have the right to make the choice.

At a time like this of grave international troubles in many parts of the world, the best contribution that we at home can make to our own security in the United States is to eliminate quickly all feelings of injustice and insecurity throughout our own (country) land. For our own safety we cannot afford to follow those in public life who quote the Golden Rule and take no steps to bring it closer. (Applause)

As President, I have willingly defended the interests of each of the Nation's great groups to the others, even if the others were critical. I have been just as glad to defend business to labor and agriculture, and to defend labor to business and agriculture, as I have been glad to defend agriculture to labor and business. That is part of my public duty.

When I became President I found a country demoralized, (and)

disorganized, with each of these groups seeking to survive by taking advantage of the others. As in the time of George Washington in 1787, 151 years ago, when there was grave danger that the states would never become a nation -- as in the time of Abraham Lincoln, when a tragic division threatened to (be) become lasting -- our own time has brought a test of our American Union.

A (big) great part of my duty as President has been to do what I could to bring our people together again. That has been my unchanging purpose since March 4, 1933. And the great test for us in our time is whether all the groups of our people are willing to work together for continuing progress.

Such progress I need hardly remind you comes ultimately from the rank and file of our citizens, and through the representatives of their free choice -- representatives willing to cooperate, to get things done in the true spirit of "give and take" -- not representatives who seek every plausible excuse for blocking action. (Applause)

What you do, what I (or any one man may) do, what any man or woman may do is of small moment compared with what the people do. In this effort to preserve our democracy and our Union, I am confident that all who labor in the field and factory will carry on the good work, carry it through to a just and successful end.

(This) That, my friends, that is our high purpose on this Labor Day of 1938. (Prolonged applause)

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
(From his Automobile)
At Annapolis, Maryland
September 5, 1938

MR. MAYOR, MY NEIGHBORS OF ANNAPOLIS:

I have been coming here, as you know, for a great many years, in fact for a quarter of a century, and some of you perhaps do not know that a great many years ago I was made an alumnus of St. John's College.
(Applause)

I have had a very wonderful trip on the Eastern Shore today and I could not help but think of the wonderful history of this part of the country. There are a great many historic buildings over on the Eastern Shore and up here at Annapolis which is, in many ways, one of the most historic cities in the United States. It is a great privilege to be here.

I have been talking not politics but government and I think you will understand the allegory when I point out to you that the old buildings of this College (St. John's) and the old buildings of this city, this capital city, would not be used today if they had not been modernized.

to
I will leave you/apply that same principle to government. We have the same form of government, a great historic form, but it would not work today unless we keep it modernized. I think that is all that need be said and I think you will catch the point.

(Audience: We will modernize it.)

And now I am going with the Governor to his home, which is another historic building. I have not had a chance to visit the Governor

of Maryland since I was a very young Assistant Secretary of the Navy and I am going to have a very good time before I return to the White House.

Many thanks.

INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
Rochester, Minnesota
September 14, 1938

MY FRIENDS OF ROCHESTER:

I know that I can really call you friends for all that you have done in these past few days for my family and myself. Not only am I going away with a full realization that every care will be taken with my oldest boy but with a better knowledge of the very wonderful work that is being done for humanity as a whole in Rochester.

I want to thank all of you for what I can best describe as an understanding heart on the part of the people of Rochester. You have understood that I have come here not as President but as a father, and you have treated me accordingly. I am going away knowing that you are still going to pull for that boy of mine and that his wife and my wife are going to be in very good hands during the period of recovery.

I am going back now, not to my home on the Hudson River but straight through to Washington because, as you know, having read the papers, the condition of affairs in other parts of the world is extremely serious. That is why, as President, I have to go back to the National Capital.

Again I want to thank you. I am going away from here with a light heart and not only a most kindly feeling but the most affectionate feeling for all of you good people in Rochester.

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Delivered from the Oval Room of the White House
To the Constitutional Convention at Poughkeepsie, New York
September 17, 1938, 10.15 A.M.

GOVERNOR LEHMAN, MY FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK:

It is with deep personal disappointment that I find the affairs of the world such that I cannot be with my neighbors in Poughkeepsie today.

That my great-great-grandfather, Isaac Roosevelt, sat in the little old Court House here one hundred and fifty years ago and cast his vote with the slim majority in favor of ratification of the Federal Constitution is a family tradition of which I am proud.

There are two words in the English language which in the heat of political controversy are often forgotten or abused -- the words "faith" and "confidence." It is well for us to remember that a very large minority of the inhabitants of the original Thirteen States (were) opposed (to) the adoption of the Constitution. They had witnessed the complete failure of government under the Articles of Confederation -- yet they were opposed to a real union because they believed those leaders who viewed with alarm any effort to think and act in national terms instead of state and local terms.

And, believe me, the professional fear-mongers of 1938 have little to learn from the viewers with alarm, the patrons of ghosts and hobgoblins (in those days had little to learn from the professional fear-mongers of 1938) of the days of 1788.

I wish that all of you might read the dusty (news)papers and pamphlets and handbills of (1788) a hundred and fifty years ago. Feelings ran high. Vituperation and invective were the rule. The

State of New York would cease to exist and its people would be squeezed to death between the cold-blooded Yankees of New England on the one side and the passionate aristocracy of the South on the other -- if you believed one type of publicity. The people of the State of New York would be ruined by interstate tariffs and as a weak independent nation would be reconquered by George the Third, if you read the publicity of the other party.

Washington, Adams, Hamilton and Clinton were labeled traitors and dictators.

And in the midst of these diatribes this Constitutional Convention in Poughkeepsie was faced with the problem of saying "yes" or "no". Then, as now, there were men and women afraid of the future -- distrustful of their own ability to meet changed conditions; shortsighted in their dog-in-the-manger conception of local and national needs. They were afraid of democracy; afraid of the trend toward unity; afraid of Thirteen States becoming one Nation.

As the weeks went on and an insufficient number of states had approved the Constitution to put it into effect, its opponents at this Convention, realizing more and more that the very existence of that paper organization known as the United States of America was at stake and that public opinion was swinging against them, narrowed their opposition to the fact that the Constitution contained no Bill of Rights.

They held a slim majority against ratification, but at that moment a small group of delegates, in which I am glad to say Dutchess County was well represented, came forward with an appeal

to the "faith and the confidence" of the Convention. They agreed that a permanent Constitution for the United States should contain a Bill of Rights -- and they proposed ratification by the State of New York "in full faith and confidence" that a Bill of Rights would be promptly submitted to the Several States by the first Congress to meet under the Constitution.

You and I know today that it was this proposal which won final adherence to the Constitution by a small margin; and more than that -- that this proposal of "full faith and confidence" was in fact carried out by the Congress of the United States when it assembled.

I do not know that it is necessary to elaborate on this parable, (or) this text. It is perhaps sufficient for me to say that when in almost every generation between 1788 and 1938 the (American) people have been faced with similar decisions, they have in the long run expressed their "full faith and confidence" in the integrity and safety of the national concept.

It required great patience between 1783 and 1788, those five years after the close of the Revolutionary War, great patience to bring home the realization that thirteen separate colonies, become thirteen separate states, could not survive as thirteen separate nationalities. Leadership toward the thought of a united Nation had to be patient and it was. Perseverance of leadership combined with patience has always won.

Once the Constitution was ratified (the Constitution) it presented the outline of a form of government. But to become a workable instrument of government its words needed men, men in every succeeding generation to administer it, men as great as the men who wrote it.

And the greatest of them have been the men who have sought to make the Constitution workable in the face of the new problems and conditions that have faced the American Nation from year to year.

Yes, the greatest of them have been those who have not said -- "It will not work; it cannot be done; it must be changed" -- but rather those who have applied to the Constitution of the United States the spirit of "full faith and confidence" which has come down to us today from the Convention which met here in the summer of 1786.

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Broadcast from the White House in Behalf of the
1938 Mobilization for Human Needs
October 14, 1938, 10.08 P.M.

I want to say a few words tonight to you, my fellow Americans,
who believe in social welfare and social justice:

In troubled days when the nerves of men and women have been strained almost to the breaking point we have been in danger of losing sight of one very important fact -- the all-pervading human kindness of men and women. This human kindness cannot be created artificially out of speeches and appeals -- it is part of life itself.

And so in accordance with this thought, I am not this year making a speech or an appeal in behalf of the 1938 Mobilization for Human Needs, but I am calling your attention to the past and present generosity of the people of America. That generosity never has failed and please God it never will fail. In full faith and confidence, therefore, I present to you the news that local Community Chest drives will shortly be undertaken in all parts of the country.

There are some persons who say that the need for voluntary private agencies has decreased. They say that the government -- Federal and state and local -- has moved in and taken over part of the jurisdiction of the private agencies. Such persons talk as if the scope of voluntary action and (of) mutual aid had been limited, or even eliminated.

Private community effort is not contradictory in principle to government effort, whether local, state or national. All of these are needed to make up the partnership (upon) on which (our) the Nation

is founded. The scope of voluntary action cannot be limited, because the very desire to help the less fortunate is a basic and spontaneous human urge that knows no boundary lines. It is an urge that advances civilization. And I like to think that it is a national characteristic.

Let me give you an example of successful working-together. One section of our country, New England, has recently been devastated by hurricane and tidal wave. Hundreds of lives were lost and millions of dollars worth of property were destroyed. This was indeed a tragedy. But there was one consolation in this New England tragedy. Hardly had the hurricane subsided when all the forces of government, assisting and cooperating with private agencies, were rushed to the aid of the injured, the sick and the homeless. How many lives were saved because of these efforts no one can say. The extent to which human suffering was alleviated is beyond all estimate. And we can say that no effort was spared to aid the victims of this disaster.

The rehabilitation work is still going on and will for many months to come. The Red Cross, the WPA, the CCC, the (NYA) National Youth Administration, the Army Engineers and other Federal agencies are working with the local agencies, both private and public, to rehabilitate those stricken areas and to assist those who are in need. Certainly, there has been no conflict between government and private agencies -- there has been more than enough work for both. And there is more than enough work for both in our national effort to lift up the lower one-third of our Nation to a standard of living (which) that will conform with decency and comfort and self-respect.

It is true that our Government has assumed increased responsibilities for social welfare. We are giving work to more than three

million men and women, unemployed through no fault of their own, work on our WPA program. Through our Social Security program we are aiding the states in caring for the aged, for widows and children and (for) the blind. We are providing new opportunities for more than a half million boys and girls through our CCC and (NYA) Youth Administration programs; and in many other ways the Federal Government, always in co-operation with the state and local governments, is aiding our underprivileged citizens.

But you may well ask if the need for community action is as great as it was before, now that your Government has provided a national program of (social) security, how far must you go? I would answer that the need is just as great as before, the need of your help, because Government help was intended and is intended to improve the old conditions and if local help and private help decrease (today), we will nullify the improvement (and) we have sought, we will return to just where we were before, and no gain will have been made. Very definitely we need the effort of the pioneer agencies, the local voluntary agencies, because it is expended on concrete problems (which) that must be met if our whole program is to go forward with the coordination that is its basic aim.

Community leaders have met the challenge of changing conditions. They are not looking backward with resentment against the Government. They have welcomed the acts of their Government as a liberation of their own efforts, as an opportunity to move forward on (the) a wider front of social progress.

It is these men and women whom I salute. They are the shock troops of the social conscience. I call upon the American people to

fall in behind (such) this leadership and to widen the social horizon. I am thoroughly convinced that no matter how much the Government does, the private agencies of America still have much to do before any of us can rest on our oars or on our laurels. I am thoroughly convinced that the American people want to participate (on) in a voluntary, (and) on an individual basis in the endeavor to make this country the best possible place in which to live. And so I feel confident that this year's Community Chest drive will be successful in every part of the Nation, as it has been successful in the past and as it will continue to be successful for long years to come.

HOLD FOR RELEASE

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October 26, 1938

CAUTION: This address of the President, to be broadcast by him from the White House, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until released.

NOTE: Release to editions of all newspapers appearing on the streets NOT EARLIER than 10:50 P. M. o'clock, Eastern Standard Time, Wednesday, October 26, 1938.

Care must be exercised to prevent premature publication.

STEPHEN EARLY
Secretary to the President

MRS. REID, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF THE FORUM:

No one who lived through the grave hours of last month can doubt the longing of most of the peoples of the world for an enduring peace. Our business now is to utilize the desire for peace to build principles which are the only basis of permanent peace.

It is becoming increasingly clear that peace by fear has no higher or more enduring quality than peace by the sword.

There can be no peace if the reign of law is to be replaced by a recurrent sanctification of sheer force.

There can be no peace if national policy adopts as a deliberate instrument the threat of war.

There can be no peace if national policy adopts as a deliberate instrument the dispersion all over the world of millions of helpless and persecuted wanderers with no place to lay their heads.

There can be no peace if humble men and women are not free to think their own thoughts, to express their own feelings, to worship God.

There can be no peace if economic resources that ought to be devoted to social and economic reconstruction are to be diverted to an intensified competition in armaments which will merely heighten the suspicions and fears and threaten the economic prosperity of each and every nation.

At no time in modern history has the responsibility which rests upon governments been more obvious or more profound.

I speak for a United States which has no interest in war. We covet nothing save good relations with our neighbors; and we recognize that the world today has become our neighbor.

But in the principle of the good neighbor certain fundamental reciprocal obligations are involved. There must be a deliberate and conscious will that such political changes as changing needs require shall be made peacefully.

That means a due regard for the sanctity of treaties. It means deliberate avoidance of policies which arouse fear and distress. It means the self-restraint to refuse strident ambitions which are sure to breed insecurity and intolerance and thereby weaken the prospect of that economic and moral recovery the world so sadly needs.

You cannot organize civilization around the core of militarism and at the same time expect reason to control human destinies.

For more than twelve years, the United States has been steadily seeking disarmament.

Yet we have consistently pointed out that neither we, nor any nation, will accept disarmament while neighbor nations arm to the teeth. If there is not general disarmament, we ourselves must continue to arm. It is a step we do not like to take, and do not wish to take. But, until there is general abandonment of weapons capable of aggression, ordinary rules of national prudence and common sense require that we be prepared.

We still insist that an armament race among nations is absurd unless new territories or new controls are coveted. We are entitled, I think, to greater reassurance than can be given by words: The kind of proof which can be given, for example, by actual discussions, leading to actual disarmament. Not otherwise can we be relieved of the necessity of increasing our own military and naval establishments. For while we refuse to accept as a permanent necessity the idea of force, and reject it as an ideal of life, we must be prepared to meet with success any application of force against us.

We in the United States do not seek to impose on any other people either our way of life or our internal form of government. But we are determined to maintain and protect that way of life and that form of government for ourselves. And we are determined to use every endeavor in order that the Western Hemisphere may work out its own interrelated salvation in the light of its own interrelated experience.

And we affirm our faith that, whatever choice of way of life a people makes, that choice must not threaten the world with the disaster of war. The impact of such a disaster cannot be confined. It releases a flood-tide of evil emotions fatal to civilized living. That statement applies not to the Western Hemisphere alone but to the whole of Europe and Asia and Africa and the islands of the seas.

In all that I have said to you I have reaffirmed the faith of the American people in democracy. The way of democracy is free discussion -- as exemplified by the objectives of the Forum to which I am speaking. Free discussion is most greatly useful when it is restrained and relates to facts. It is not useful to suggest either to the American people or to the peoples of other nations that the American Government, its policies, its practices and its servants are actuated by motives of dishonor or corruption. To do so is, of necessity, an attack on the American system of constitutional representative government itself.

Let us work with greater unity for peace among the nations of the world, for restraint, for negotiation and for community of effort. Let us work for the same ideals within our own borders in our relations with each other, so that we may, if the test ever comes, have that unity of will with which alone a democracy can successfully meet its enemies.

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RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
Delivered from his Home at Hyde Park
Friday, November 4, 1938, 7.30 P.M.

MY FRIENDS:

On the eve of another election, I have come home to Hyde Park and am sitting at my own fireside in my own election district, my own County and my own State.

I have often expressed my feeling that the mere fact that I am President should not disqualify me from expressing as a citizen my views on candidates and issues in my own State.

I have changed my mind about the nature of some problems of democratic government over the past few years as I have had more and more experience with them. I had never realized how much my way of thinking had changed until the other day when I was watching the finishing touches being put on a simple cottage I have recently built -- a little cottage which, by the way, is not and never has been in any sense of the word a "dream house." Just watching the building (go) going up made me realize that there was a time not so long ago when I used to think about problems of government as if they were the same kind of problems as building a house -- definite and compact and capable of completion within a given time.

Now I know well that the comparison is not a good one. Once you build a house you always have it. On the other hand, a social or an economic gain is a different matter. A social or an economic gain made by one Administration, for instance, may, and often does, evaporate into thin air under the next (one) Administration.

We all remember well-known examples of what an ill-advised

shift from liberal to conservative leadership can do to an incomplete liberal program. Theodore Roosevelt, for example, started a march of progress during his seven years in the Presidency but, after four years of President Taft, little was left of the progress (which) that had been made. Think of the great liberal achievements of Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom and how quickly they were liquidated under President Harding. We have to have reasonable continuity in liberal government in order to get permanent results.

The whole United States concedes that we in (New York State) the State of New York have carried out a magnificent liberal program through our State government during the past sixteen years. If the continuity of that liberal government had been broken in this State during that time, we would be nowhere near the point we have reached today.

The voters throughout the country should remember -- they should remember that need for continuous liberal government when they vote next Tuesday.

On that day in every state the oldest of modern democracies will hold an election. A free people will have a free choice to pick free leaders for free men.

In other lands across the water the flares of militarism and conquest, terrorism and intolerance, have vividly revealed to Americans for the first time since the Revolution how precious and extraordinary it is to be allowed this free choice of free leaders for free men.

No one next Tuesday will order us how to vote, and the only watchers we shall find at the polls are the watchers who guarantee that our ballot is secret. Think how few places are left where this can

happen.

But we cannot carelessly assume that a nation is strong and great merely because it has a democratic form of government. We have learned that a democracy weakened by internal dissension, by mutual suspicion born of social injustice, is no match for autocracies which are ruthless enough to repress internal dissension.

Democracy in order to live must become a positive force in the daily lives of its people. It must make men and women whose devotion it seeks, feel that it really cares for the security of every individual; that it is tolerant enough to inspire an essential unity among its citizens; and that it is militant enough to maintain liberty against social oppression at home and against military aggression abroad.

The rest of the world is far closer to us in every way than in the days of democracy's founders -- Jefferson and Jackson and Lincoln. Comparisons in this world are unavoidable. To disprove the pretenses of rival systems, democracy must be an affirmative, up-to-date conception. It can no longer be negative -- no longer adopt a defeatist attitude. In these tense and dangerous situations in the world democracy will save itself with the average man and woman by proving itself worth saving.

Too many of those who prate about saving democracy are really only interested in saving things as they were. Democracy (should) ought to concern itself also with things as they ought to be.

I am not talking mere idealism; I am expressing realistic necessity.

I reject the merely negative purposes proposed by old-line

Republicans and Communists alike -- for they are people whose only purpose is to survive against any other Fascist threat than their own.

As of today, Fascism and Communism -- and old-line Tory Republicanism -- are not threats to the continuation of our form of government. But I venture the challenging statement that if American democracy ceases to move forward as a living force, seeking day and night by peaceful means to better the lot of our citizens, then Fascism and Communism, aided, unconsciously perhaps, by old-line Tory Republicanism, will grow in strength in our land.

It will take cool judgment for our people to appraise the repercussions of change in other lands. And only a nation completely convinced -- at the bottom as well as at the top -- that their system of government best serves their best interests, will have such a cool judgment.

And while we are developing that coolness of judgment, we need, you and I need, in public office, above all things, men wise enough to avoid passing incidents where passion and force try to substitute themselves for judgment and negotiation.

During my four years as Governor of the State of New York and during my nearly six years as President, I am proud of the fact that I have never called out the armed forces of the State or Nation except on errands of mercy. That type of democratic wisdom was illustrated last year by the action of Governor Murphy of Michigan when he persuaded the negotiators of the employers and employees to sit around a table and keep sitting around a table. (and thus) Thus he got an agreement, avoided bloodshed, and earned the praise of both sides of a controversy that had frightened a whole nation.

With such an approach, the New Deal, keeping its feet on the ground, is working out hundreds of current problems from day to day as necessities arise and with whatever materials are at hand. We are doing this without attempting to commit the Nation to any ism or any ideology except democracy, humanity and the civil liberties which form their foundations.

Our economic and social system cannot deny the paramount right of the millions who toil and the millions who wish to toil, to have it function smoothly and efficiently. After all, any such system must provide efficiently for distributing national resources and serving the welfare and happiness of all who live under it.

The modern interdependent industrial and agricultural society which we live in is like a large factory. Each member of the organization has his own job to perform on the assembly line, but if the conveyor belt breaks or gets tangled up, no one in the factory, no matter how hard he tries, can do his own particular job. Each of us -- farmer, businessman or worker -- suffers when anything goes wrong with the conveyor belt.

If our democracy is to survive it must give the average man reasonable assurance that the (belts) belt will be kept moving.

Dictators in other countries have recognized that problem. They keep the conveyor (belts) belt moving -- but at a terrible price to the individual and to his civil liberty.

The New Deal has been trying to keep those belts moving without paying such a price. It does not wish to run or manage any part of our economic machine which private enterprise can run and keep running. That should be left to individuals, to corporations, to any other

form of private management, with profit for those who manage well. But when an abuse interferes with the ability of private enterprise to keep the national conveyor belt moving, government has a responsibility to eliminate that abuse.

We do not assume for a minute that all we have done is right or all that we have done has been successful, but our economic and social program of the past five and a half years has definitely given to the United States of America a more stable, (and) a less artificial prosperity than any other nation in the world has enjoyed in that period.

The very fact that the business slump (beginning) that began last fall and kept running into last summer, did not become a major economic disaster like the terrible slump that ran from 1929 all the way through to 1933; that is the best kind of proof that fundamentally we have found the right track.

You have just heard the news about the automobile factories and many other industries that are opening up for full employment again. And during the month of October alone over-all employment has risen nearly $3\frac{1}{2}\%$.

I have been very happy in the last six months to see how swiftly a large majority of businessmen have been coming around to accept the objectives of a more stable economy and of certain necessary supervision of private activities in order to prevent a return of the serious abuses and conditions of the past. But if there should be any weakening of the power of a liberal government next Tuesday, it would resurrect false hopes on the part of some businessmen who are now beginning to change antiquated ideas, hopes that if they can hold out just a little longer no adaptation to change will be necessary.

There is no doubt, as we all know, of the basic desires of the American people. And because these basic desires are well known you find all parties, all candidates, making the same general promises to satisfy these desires.

During the weeks before a general election, all parties are the friends of labor, all parties are against monopoly, all parties say that the unemployed must have work or be given government relief, and all parties love the farmer.

Let me warn you now, as I warned you two years ago in my address at Syracuse, against the type of smooth evasion which says:

"Of course we believe (all) these things; we believe in social security; we believe in work for the unemployed; we believe in saving homes. Cross our hearts and hope to die, we believe in all these things; but we do not like the way that the present Administration is doing them. Just turn them over to us. We will do all of them -- we will do more of them -- we will do them better; and, most important of all, the doing of them will not cost anybody anything."

But when democracy struggles for its very life, my friends, these same people obstruct our efforts to maintain it, while they fail to offer proof of their own will and their own plans to preserve it. They try to stop the only fire engine we have from rushing to the fire because they are sales agents for a different make of fire engine.

New ideas cannot be administered successfully by men with old ideas, for the first essential of doing a job well is the wish to see the job done at all.

Judge parties and candidates, not merely by what they promise, but by what they have done, by their records in office, by the kind of people they travel with, by the kind of people who finance and promote

their campaigns. By their promoters ye shall know them.

No national administration, however much it may represent the genuine popular will of the people, can in the long run prove enduringly effective if that administration can be cut off from the people by state and local political machinery controlled by men who are hostile.

My own State of New York is to choose a Governor. Ours is the most complex state in the Union -- thirteen million population, great farming areas, hundreds of small communities, one huge city of seven million people, and many other cities, great and small.

Governing the State of New York requires the skill (which) that comes from long experience in public affairs.

In 1918, twenty years ago, when I was thirty-six years old, I was invited to run for the Governorship of this State. I was then the Assistant Secretary of the Navy. I declined the offer, because my job required me at that time to sail on a destroyer for overseas service. And I am glad I did, for, looking back on that time, I do not think that I had experience and knowledge of public affairs wide enough to qualify as Governor. And besides, I did not think it quite right to abandon in mid-stream an important public job that I had undertaken.

Governing the State of New York is more than being an Assistant Secretary of the Navy or a local District Attorney. The Governor of this State is called upon to administer eighteen great departments of government and to supervise state institutions that house over one hundred thousand wards of the State. He must be able to understand, (and) able to handle the vast and intricate problems of agriculture.

He is charged with the supervision of State finance and the maintenance of the State credit. He is responsible for its widespread system of roads and parks and canals and bridges and schools. He has to maintain, preserve and improve the great body of social legislation already on the statute books of the State -- unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, social security, help for the needy and the underprivileged; and he must see to it that these recent reforms are made to keep pace with the broadening conception of social justice.

Equal protection of the law -- criminal and civil -- for human rights as well as property rights; prosecution of criminals in high financial places as well as in low places; the preservation of civil and religious liberties -- all these precious essentials of civilization are entrusted to him.

New York has State laws matching every progressive Federal measure of the last five years. They were all enacted under the guiding hand and driving energy of Governor Herbert H. Lehman.

Recruits in the battle for economic democracy are always welcome irrespective of party; but at a critical moment in the world's history we cannot take the risk of supplanting seasoned leaders like Governor Lehman with men, no matter how sincere, who have yet to win their spurs or prove what they really know or where they really stand in the fight for social justice. Those who truly and sincerely join the struggle for social justice, economic democracy for its own sake, they do not throw stones at veteran fighters in that cause.

No one can properly minimize the need of active law enforcement, whether it be in a great city or in the rural counties of this or any other state. Certainly Governor Lehman has never minimized it,

(and) has never hesitated to call to his assistance in law enforcement, young and vigorous prosecutors, irrespective of politics. We need more active law enforcement, not only against the lords of the underworld, but also against the lords of the overworld.

It is right -- wholly right -- to prosecute criminals. But that is not enough, for there is the immense added task of working for the elimination of present and future crime by getting rid of evil social conditions which breed crime. Good government can prevent a thousand crimes for every one it punishes.

Yes, the fight for social justice and economic democracy has not the allure of a criminal jury trial; it is a long weary, uphill struggle -- and those who give themselves unsparingly to it are seldom acclaimed at my lady's tea or at my gentleman's club.

As a resident and voter in the State of New York I urge my fellow citizens and voters, who are interested in preserving true good government and American democracy, to vote for Herbert H. Lehman.

And just as a Governor is required to be much more than a good prosecutor, so a United States Senator must be much more than a good lawyer. A Senator from New York must do more than merely vote on whatever bills happen to drift by. He must be able and willing to take the initiative -- to keep the legislative wheels turning in the right direction.

If you were to list some of the newly recognized major responsibilities of government to meet the complexities of modern life -- security in old age, unemployment insurance, protection of the rights of labor, low-cost housing, (and) slum clearance -- you would have a virtual resume of the Acts of the Congress (which) that bear the name

of Robert F. Wagner. So often since 1933 has new legislation been described as "The Wagner Act" that the phrase has become confusing because there have been so many Wagner Acts. For example, there is not only the Wagner Labor Relations Act; there are the Wagner Social Security Act and the Wagner Housing Act; and although you might feel uncertain as to which particular Act is meant by the phrase, you can feel no uncertainty as to this -- that any one of the Wagner Acts was an Act intended for the benefit of those who need the help and support of government against oppression and against intolerable conditions of living. His name stands in our history for courageous and intelligent leadership, constructive statecraft and steadfast devotion to the common man and the cause of civil liberties.

With him I hope the voters of this State will send to the Senate in Washington an experienced Member of the House of Representatives -- James M. Mead -- known through many years for his expert knowledge of three fields whose intricate problems press heavily upon government today -- railroads, aviation and Civil Service, and for his unflagging support of every liberal measure that has come before the Congress. We need that legislative experience, that temper of mind, that expert knowledge in the United States Senate.

Look over the rest of the names on the ballot next Tuesday. Pick those who are known for their experience and their liberalism. Pick them for what they have done, and not just for what they say they (would) might do.

And one last but important word: Pick them without regard to race, color or creed. Some of them may have come of the earliest Colonial stock; some of them may have been brought here as children

to escape the tyrannies of the Old World. But remember that all of them are good American citizens now.

Remember that the Fathers of the (American) Revolution, the American Revolution, represented many religions and came from many foreign lands.

Remember that no matter what their origin they all agreed with Benjamin Franklin in that crisis: "We must indeed all hang together or most assuredly we shall all hang separately."

Remember that in these grave days in the affairs of the world we need internal unity -- national unity. For the sake of the Nation that is good advice -- and it never grows old.

RADIO ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT
FROM HYDE PARK, NEW YORK, IN
CONNECTION WITH THE DEDICATION
EXERCISES OF THE WILL ROGERS
MEMORIAL, CLAREMORE, OKLAHOMA,
NOVEMBER 4, 1936.

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This afternoon we pay grateful homage to the memory of a man who helped the nation to smile. And after all, I doubt if there is among us a more useful citizen than the one who holds the secret of banishing gloom, of making tears give way to laughter, of supplanting desolation and despair with hope and courage. For hope and courage always go with a light heart.

There was something infectious about his humor. His appeal went straight to the heart of the nation. Above all things, in a time grown too solemn and somber he brought his countrymen back to a sense of proportion.

With it all his humor and his comments were always kind. His was no biting sarcasm that hurt the highest or the lowest of his fellow citizens. When he wanted people to laugh out loud he used the methods of pure fun. And when he wanted to make a point for the good of all mankind, he used the kind of gentle irony that left no scars behind it. That was an accomplishment well worthy of consideration by all of us.

From him we can learn anew the homely lesson that the way to make progress is to build on what we have, to believe that today is better than yesterday and that tomorrow will be better than either.

Will Rogers deserves the gratitude of the nation and so it is fitting that the dedication of this Memorial should be a national event made so by the magic of radio. The American nation, to whose heart he brought gladness, will hold him in everlasting remembrance.

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INFORMAL, EXTEMPORANEOUS REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT
At the Annual Dinner of the National Press Club
Washington, D. C., November 19, 1938

PRESIDENT BRAYMAN, FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL PRESS CLUB:

I am very much touched by this token of what is a real and old friendship, a friendship which on my part I do not have to tell you, old and young, is fully reciprocated. And, incidentally, this engraved cigarette case comes on an anniversary of mine for it is just -- this is the twenty-fifth year, a quarter of a century, since I first came to Washington and first went to some kind of a party by the National Press Club in what I believe were its original headquarters. (Applause)

I have been a little appalled tonight by chins (laughter) (referring to cartoons depicting the various facial expressions of himself) and I am going to apologize in the morning to my trusty safety razor for things I have said in the past; I take them all back. (Laughter)

And I have been delighted to hear some things explained about happenings this past summer in Europe because it explains some telegrams that the Secretary of State got. (Laughter) (Referring to Bugs Baer's account of his trip to Europe, where he had evaded difficult situations by indicating that he was a relative of the President.) He got a telegram from Joe Kennedy in London (laughter) that a man named Baer claims to be the President's nephew (laughter) and the Secretary of State telegraphed back, "Probably." (Laughter)

And then he went over to Holland and our Minister there telegraphed over about an arrival that got into a certain amount of trouble

in Amsterdam and that he might be all right because his ancestors came from the same little old Dutch village that mine did. And so it went. He went through France all right, even Italy. He got into Germany with a certain amount of trouble; he got into a concentration camp and they telegraphed about the President's cousin. They did not telegraph to us, they telegraphed to the German Ambassador in Washington and he replied to Berlin that he thought this was a queer attitude. (Laughter - applause)

I forgot to say that I have been studying these cartoons most of the evening and I think there is something in former associations that people have. You can tell, reading a newspaper story, more or less what the associations previous, the previous associations of a writer have been. I suppose it is the same thing with cartoonists. Take the lowest one of the third row: I do not know who drew it, but he must have been in close association with President Hoover. (Laughter) And then the last one in the second row: That cartoonist had probably been covering the Al Capone trial. The one above that is an old admirer -- he had been playing around with Charlie Murphy in Tammany Hall.

Well, it is very interesting but I am still worried about that chin; I am afraid if I have a nightmare I will wake up in the middle of the night leading for the chin. (Laughter)

As a matter of fact, you good people do not know what that cigarette case means to me. I have been having an awful lot of trouble with photographers for a long time. You know the little old package I carry around in my right-hand pocket; it is generally found in the middle of my desk and when there is some treaty to be signed or something like that and the photographers are all there, I have to reach

out to hide the label on the cigarettes. I am not doing any free advertising. (Laughter) Oh, I have had a chance. Clay Williams (Chairman of the American Tobacco Company) came in last year (laughter) and I began kidding him because the other people, some other brand, had been buying Senatorial endorsements at a thousand dollars apiece. He came back at me and said, "Mr. President, if you would endorse my brand I think it worth your while," and I said, "What would you call worth while? How much?" He said, "Fifty grand." I said, "Wow." I said, "That's good. In fact, it is so good I think I will have to consider it. What would you want me to do?" He said, "You and I are old friends. If you will write me a personal letter, starting off, 'Dear Clay,' and let me run it in my national advertising, fifty thousand dollars."

I said, "That is too good to turn down, Clay. Will you let me write the letter?" He said, "Yes, as long as it endorses Camels, it is all right." I said, "Clay, I will do it." He said, "That is grand." And then -- he is a suspicious fellow -- he said, "What else would you put in the letter?" And I said, "I will write, 'Dear Clay: I am happy to endorse Camels. I do so because, after a careful survey of the United States, I find that you and I are the only two people in the country that can smoke them without coughing.'" (Laughter)

In all these years, those twenty-five years, you, like myself, we have been doing good turns for people. We have been really producing good things and that is, I suppose, the difference between the members of this Club and those damned Japanese cherry trees. (Laughter) And so it may be said, "By our fruits ye shall know us." (Laughter)

And so -- I am sort of jumping backwards and forwards -- to go back to cigarettes, now I am safe, I won't do any free advertising